1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

Though the horse was not a primary source of food, stories and case histories reveal that horse meat was eaten on occasion and relished. In food-getting Comanche culture was basically a buffalo culture. [262]

As a beast of burden and as a means of personal transportation the horse had a fundamental value to the Comanche. In this respect the horse was a capital good. But the single individual could not effectively utilize more than a dozen horses in his personal string for use in war and hunting. [492]

Beyond this, horses were exceedingly acceptable as gifts and tokens of esteem. As gifts given in reciprocity for services rendered and as fees to medicine men, they served as an informal medium of exchange. As objects demandable in settlement of damage suits at law, they were a tangible form of material wealth endowed with legal and monetary significance. 431 422

In spite of all this, the great value of horses to the Comanche was a fiduciary value of inflated worth as prestige tokens, a value rooted in socio-psychological rather than economic factors. [554]

Though captured Mexican youths and children purchased from poverty-stricken Shoshone Indians served as herdsmen, and the increase of herds through selective breeding was practiced by the Comanches, the basic factor in the acquisition and retaining of a large herd was the military skill of the owners. Thus it is that the possession of horses figured in the prestige competition which so constantly and vigorously activated the life of the Comanche male. 233 556 [567]

The size of Comanche herds was immense. Probably no Indians were more richly supplied than they. Upon the count of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the Antelope band alone surrendered one thousand five hundred horses to the United States at the time of the capitulation at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, on June 2, 1875.[17] A single Comanche, Big Fall By Tripping, is reputed among the Indians to have owned more than a thousand horses at one time.

The great communal hunts of the buffalo occurred during the summer months after the seasonal moulting was done and hides were in their prime. This was the season for the in-gathering of the bands. Sporadic and uncontrolled hunting of buffalo occurred whenever they were available during other seasons. 224

The time of the hunt was determined in democratic assembly at which everybody was welcome to listen, but in which the war leaders took the important part. The date for departure being set, the young and able-bodied men with their women left the main camp. Children and old persons remained behind. The expedition travelled light, taking very small and undecorated tipis and what weapons and tools were necessary.

[17] Commissioner of Indian Affairs (Annual Report, Washington, 1875), p. 273.

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
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of a considerable rivulet. The cords were here unloosed from my wrists; nevertheless, I was pinioned back from the shoulders, leaving my arms so far at liberty, however, that I could raise my hands to my mouth. The drove properly herded, one or two horses were shot, and the meat brought in for supper.

I may as well state, in this connection, that horseflesh is the favorite food of a Comanche Indian. They do devour great quantities of venison and buffalo meat, but these are universally considered as greatly inferior to the steaks cut from the carcass of a mustang. The woods and prairies are covered with wild fowl, and the streams abound with delicious trout and other fish, yet none of these are ever made use of as an article of diet.

A fire was now kindled, and the warriors gathered round it, the prisoners in the center. This was the first opportunity I had of seeing and speaking to my fellow captives. Martin was silent and dejected, apparently absorbed in his own reflections, and little disposed to converse. Stewart was nervous and frightened, bewailing his hard fate in tears; but Aikens maintained a cheerful spirit, advising us to keep up our courage and look the matter coolly in the face until the last. While conversing, the Indians were engaged boiling their meat, which they ate without any accompaniment whatever, save water dipped from the spring in buffalo horns; the greensward serving as their table spread, and their fingers as knives and forks. Having satisfied themselves, they now seemed to take into consideration the appetites of their captives.

In wandering menageries, the curiosity of civilized assemblages is sometimes excited to see "the animals fed in the presence of the audience." Something of this kind actuated the Comanches on this occasion. At all events, they re-

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
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culiar doctrines among the heathen. Accordingly, I received it at their hands in an attitude of great humility, and gazed upon it with that air of reverence which may be supposed characterizes the Hindoo kneeling before the graven image of a monkey, wound it up, held it to my ear, listened to the tick, tick, tick, with a solemnity of expression intended to convey the same idea, as if I had said to them in their own language: "Gentlemen Indians, I am now receiving important telegraphic dispatches from the other side of Jordan!" Presently, it sounded the alarm. It would have been a curious and interesting picture for an artist, could he have watched the various expressions of astonishment, awe, and wonder that overspread their features during the whir and whirl and whiz of the cunning mechanism. Ejaculating their impressive "ugh, ugh," they looked seriously and inquiringly into each other's faces, as much as to say—"Well, I never; did you ever!"

Finally, the watch was taken by the old chief and formally presented to the squaw, whom I afterwards learned was his favorite wife. The presentation speech I was unable to understand, but surmised it was very similar to those which usually accompanies the presentation of flags in more civilized communities, that is to say, an exhortation to the recipient to stand by it until the last drop of blood has been spilled, and to preserve it, under any circumstances, "sacred and inviolate." This ceremony over, I was conducted to the chief's tent, regaled with a late dinner, horse-flesh being the only dish mentioned on the bill of fare, and this without the useless luxuries of salt and pepper, and *very* rare, when I was seated at the entrance, and had a brief opportunity of taking a view of the town.

This Indian village, in every material respect, was like other Comanche villages with which I afterwards became

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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so named because they always had plenty of buffalo meat. Buffalo meat was the principal food of all Comanches, but this particular division, whose favorite haunt during the nineteenth century was the Canadian River valley, may well have been more dependent upon that animal, since they were in a favorite rendezvous of the buffalo herds. They established relations with the Spaniards in New Mexico early in the eighteenth century, and after peace was established in 1786, *Comancheros* (traders from New Mexico settlements) visited them frequently and called them *Cuchaneo* or *Cuchantica*. The eastern and southern members of this group likewise came to be well known to the Spaniards in Texas; in fact, they are commonly referred to in the documents of the Bexar archives as Texas or Eastern Comanches. They were noted as a band which was ever out on a raid. An emissary, Francisco Xavier Ortiz, whom Governor de Anza sent in 1786 to visit them, reported that in an area about one hundred miles square between the Pecos and Red rivers, he found eight *rancherías;* that the smallest had thirty tents; all eight together had about seven hundred. He further reported that there were three to four warriors to the tent, which would give an estimated population of between six and seven thousand; on the basis of what we know about the Comanches, this was an exaggeration, although his claim that they owned nine hundred horses and mules is quite credible.[19]

The northernmost part of the Comanche country was occupied by the populous and important band of "Yap-eaters," *Yapainɔ*, or *Yampatikɔ*, eaters of a potato-like root called *Yɛp* by the Shoshones, but *Yap'* by the Comanches. As the band closest to the Shoshones, and as the band that clung to Shoshone food-getting habits, digging for roots, they were probably the last of the Comanche bands to break off. Indeed, the Fort Hall Shoshones, in Idaho (who still think *they* are the people—*nɜm*) call all Comanches *Yamparika*. In earlier times this band had been called *Widyu* (Awl), according to Mooney, but because the use of the word became tabu, as in the case of the *Nokoni*, it was changed to *Ditsakana* (Sewers), which conveys the same idea.[20]

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[19] A. B. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers*, 73, 290–91.

[20] Apparently also spelled *Titchakenah* (Those Who Make Bags While Moving). It is maintained on good authority that the *Titchakenah* was once a separate band who before the reservation days had become a portion of the *Yamparika* band. See Agent Clark to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, "Report," May 18, 1881, *loc. cit.*

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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dialects, traditions, and customs are largely Antelope.[22] To what extent this is true is impossible to judge, but even a casual student of Comanche culture cannot fail to note that the influence of the Antelope band is strong. These people are reluctant to accept innovations to this day, a few still preferring the tipi and the arbor to the modern house.

In addition to the above-mentioned major groups, there were a great many bands of less importance. Some of these are difficult to distinguish because of similarity of band names and variations in spelling the same name, and also because some bands had become extinct or had merged with others before becoming known to whites.

The *Tanima* (Liver-eaters), mentioned by James Mooney, were so called because they are reputed to have eaten the liver of their game in its raw state. Although Mooney found only one survivor at the time of his visit, Agent E. L. Clark reported several survivors living with other bands in 1881,[23] and Goldstein was able to identify the band in 1931. The Liver-eaters were neighbors of the Wanderers and with them composed a part of the group known as Middle Comanches.

A third band which lived in the same region as the Wanderers and the Liver-eaters was the *Tenawa* or *Tenawit* (Down Stream), also noted by Mooney. The *Tenawa* and *Tanima* were frequently confused by the whites, partly because of the similarity of the sound of the names and partly because they inhabited the same geographic region. So confused are the accounts of the two that it is often impossible to determine to which band the name refers.[24] The Down Streams were practically exterminated in a battle with the Mexicans about 1845, and the band did not exist when the Comanches went on the reservation in 1869, or else they had been absorbed by other bands. R. N. Richardson believes that the Yupes or Jupes listed by Governor Anza as one of three major divisions known to the Spaniards in New Mexico in 1786 were the *Tenawa*.[25] The Liver-eaters

[22] R. B. Thomas, "Kiowa-Comanche Experiences," *loc. cit.*

[23] Agent Clark to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, "Report," May 18, 1881, *loc. cit.*

[24] Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement*, 21, lists the following variations of the two words and states that it is an incomplete list: Te-na-wish, Ta-ne-wa, Te-ne-wah, Te-na-wa, Tan-nee-wish, Ten-en-e-ree, Te-ne-mes, and De-na-vi.

[25] *Ibid.*, 20–22.

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brought forth a miserable-looking pony with a three-inch coat of thick hair and a general appearance of neglect and suffering. Its rider "looked big enough to carry the poor beast on his shoulders" and was armed with a club with which he belabored the animal from starting line to the finish. Yet, to the surprise of the whites the Indian pony managed to win by a neck. Within an hour the officers bit again and lost by a nose. Then they suggested a third race and brought out a magnificent Kentucky racing mare. In a frenzy of excitement the Indians bet everything that the whites would take. With the starting signal the Indian rider threw away his club, gave a whoop, and his little mount "went away like the wind." That Kentucky mare was soon so far behind that for the last fifty yards the Comanche sat backwards on his pony beckoning to the white rider to come on. The whites afterwards learned that the shaggy pony was a celebrated racer, and that the Comanches had just come back from fleecing the Kickapoos to the tune of six hundred ponies with that same little horse.[82]

Straight-run relay races from a standing start for a distance "ten times the distance you can shoot an arrow," or a good two miles, made a favorite run. Shorter obstacle races put both speed and control to a rigorous test.

To the Comanche, then, the horse was an intimate household friend, a beast of burden, a counter in the great prestige game of the warriors, a "gamer," and an occasional source of food. But it was to the buffalo that he turned for his economic mainstay.

The buffalo was as indispensable to the Comanche as the horse. No part of the slaughtered animal was wasted except the rump, spine, and skull. Hair, skin, flesh, blood, bones, entrails, horns, sinews, kidneys, liver, paunch, and the dried excrement were all utilized. The Indian ate its flesh, the marrow of its bones, the contents of the gall bladder on raw liver, and even at times its entrails—a habit left over from Shoshone days. Of the edible parts, only the heart was unconsumed; it was left for magical perpetuation of the herds.

When the Comanche was thirsty and water was not available, there was the blood of the buffalo. Its paunch, after the inner lining was removed, was used as a water bag and also as a container in which

[82] R. I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, 329–30.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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224 ready, the people arranged themselves in two parallel lines facing east, the antelope medicine man at the center with the two warriors mounted on either side of him. Everyone else was afoot. In his hands the conjurer held his medicine sticks—two antelope hoofs, each on a piece of wood. Crossing his arms halfway below the elbow, a stick in each hand, he "blocked" the antelope. They could not run away. Then, giving one medicine stick to each of the warriors, he bade them ride off. One went northeast; the other southeast. Circling wide, they met and passed each other a mile or so to the east. They were drawing a magical barrier. Against its power the hapless antelope would be helpless. Each rider returned along the path laid by the other; the circle was closed. Now the two files of people—men, women, and children—followed out along the trails of the horsemen until they were standing in a huge circle, all singing antelope songs.

The antelope were now inside the circle, and the people closed in on them, shouting. The animals were in the corral. They dashed wildly about, but they could not cross the line. At last, when they were exhausted, the medicine man pointed one of his hoofs at an antelope who had one horn down. He would fall dead. "The people then pile in and kill them all."

The skeptic may say that it was the circle of shouting beaters who bunched the animals. But not the Comanche. He was convinced that without the medicine charm they would break through the circle and escape. The medicine hunt was not used often, but Comanches say it worked.

●262 There is some disagreement about how fond the Comanches were of horse meat, but when game was not available, it was eaten and relished. Raiding parties normally carried few rations with them, and when the supply was exhausted, they simply killed and cooked a spare horse on the spot. Thomas C. Battey, who was one of the first white teachers among the Comanches, states that buffalo, antelope, or deer were preferred, but if not obtainable, a pony or a mule was the next choice. Modern Comanches agree with him. We have already called the Comanches "pastoralists," but they were not strictly so in that they did not rely to any great extent on their horse herds for food, and they never killed their mares. Around the middle of the nineteenth century they had plenty of horses to eat, yet the values

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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that had been built up when horses were rare were such that horses remained almost wholely prestige tokens and transport bearers. 262

Great numbers of cattle obtained from raids on Mexican and Texas settlements were also eaten, especially in later years. The majority were butchered and consumed by the raiders wherever they were found, or as soon as the raider felt himself at a distance safe from attack by the whites. The Comanches made no attempt to herd them. Many head of stolen cattle were not butchered, but went to New Mexican traders in return for ornaments, arrows, kettles, and other articles. Although the Comanches thought beef was poor eating when buffalo was to be had, nowadays an old Comanche likes to sink his teeth into mediocre beef with plenty of fat as the nearest thing to the buffalo he loved.

Dog meat was regarded as an almost sacred dish by the Sioux, and to the Cheyennes "A nice fat, boiled puppy is just like a turkey on Thanksgiving to you white people."[2] But the Comanches did not eat dog meat. Medicine Woman says it is because "Once, when the people moved, they left an old, old lady in camp with a dog. Several weeks later when the people returned to the site, they found that the dog had killed the woman and had consumed most of her body. Henceforth the Comanches refused dog meat, since dogs ate human flesh."[3] There is a deeper reason, however. Dog is Coyote's cousin, and Coyote is tabu. He is the Trickster of Comanche and Shoshone mythology—a demi-god. Although coyotes were occasionally hunted for their furs, they were never eaten or wantonly killed. Post Oak Jim shot one for the fun of it once when out on a cattle raid. Came a cyclone, and Jim thought his horse was spinning on its head; it rained all night, and in the morning it was so cold they nearly froze. "That coyote's mother probably made medicine," said Jim. "Coyote has medicine. If we harm one, it will get back on us some way." 262 776 825

The same with dogs. Post Oak Jim killed a dog once, and ever after he thinks he had bad luck with his children. They all got sick and died. In 1933 Howard White Wolf had a dozen curs on his place. He did not dare to kill them himself, but he asked a member of the Santa Fé Laboratory of Anthropology group to do it for him. White 776 825

[2] E. A. Hoebel, Cheyenne Field Notes (unpublished).
[3] Informant: Medicine Woman.

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776 825 men are immune to dog medicine—or at least White Wolf was willing to let a white chance it! As they feel thus about dogs, it is hardly surprising that the Comanches will not eat them.

262 Although wild fowl and fish were plentiful, they were not eaten except when food was very scarce, for fish were tabu, and it was common belief that those who ate the turkey would become cowardly and run from their enemies just as the turkey flees from his pursuers. Frogs and swine were also tabu; frogs because, like fish, they were water animals, and swine because they were associated with mud and water. The Comanches, if they knew it, would eat nothing cooked with hog lard.

266 The Comanches did not eat human flesh. The neighboring Tonkawas, whom the Comanches found in Texas, were loathed and detested because of their cannibalistic practices. The fact of cannibalism is the chief rationalization used by the Comanches in explaining their implacable enmity for the Tonkawas. Like many moral excuses for war, this one, too, seems to come after the fact, since prior to the nineteenth century, when the Tonkawas were busy fighting the Apaches, the Comanches got on well enough with them.[4] It is quite probable that the Comanches themselves were not at all unused to the idea of cannibalism in the early days of their southward migration. That some people will turn cannibal in starvation times is accepted by the Shoshones, although cannibals were reputedly hanged because once having tasted human flesh they acquired an insatiable appetite.[5] Among the Comanches, however, the very idea that one of them might under stress eat another person was vigorously repulsed.

266 In late winter food sometimes became scarce; neither buffalo, deer, antelope, nor elk could be obtained. The shortages were more likely to occur in February and March, the season designated by a term meaning "when the babies cry for food."[6] When food became scarce, a Comanche ate almost anything—the tabued fish and fowl, rabbits, terrapins, turtles, snakes, skunks, rats, lizards, grasshoppers, meats which were no longer fresh, roots, and bark.

ooo In the preparation of food, meat was generally cooked by holding

[4] H. E. Bolton, "Tonkawa," in Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 783.

[5] Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, Appendix A, 141.

[6] Informant: Medicine Woman.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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In the preparation of food, meat was generally cooked by holding 252
it on a stick over a fire. Sometimes it was roasted on hot coals and the burned portion removed before eating. It was served on the flesh side of a dried skin, or sometimes the stick was brought into the tent and the handle end stuck into the ground with a long piece of meat dangling from the other end. The women got copper or iron pots as soon as possible from the traders and thereafter boiled or stewed most of their meat. They had always stewed some meat in the buffalo paunch, heating it by immersing hot stones in the water, since a fire could not be built directly under the paunch. After they obtained metal pots, the large kettle was placed over a fire and all sorts of meats and cuts dumped into it. The contents were stirred at intervals with the broad rib of a buffalo. Hunks of meat were fished from the sloppy stew with the stirring stick, knife, or the hands. The iron pot released women from a lot of labor, but it certainly added nothing to the flavor, sanitation, or dignity of the meal. During the later period [263]
a few people dipped their meat into a salt brine as they ate it. Generally, however, no salt was used on the meat, either for curing or when eating.[7] A sauce made from honey, water, and tallow was frequently used over roasted meat. The Comanches were fond of tripe. [262]
When it was not consumed raw, the usual method was to clean it and then roast it over hot coals.[8] Terrapins and turtles were collected in sacks and thrown while alive into a crackling fire. Those which sought to escape were thrown back until they roasted, when they were raked from the fire, their shells broken open, and the contents eaten with a horn spoon.[9]

Captain R. G. Carter, whose military life brought him into contact with the Comanches, described their cooking of fish and turkey:

> In cooking fish, they enclose them in clay or mud after they have been "drawn" and cleaned, to a depth of several inches, rolling them over, and the hot coals scraped on top. When cooked the hard baked clay is knocked off with the casing, and the fish eaten with salt.
>
> A wild turkey was bled, dressed or "drawn," a few feathers

[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Ibid.*; Smithwick, *op. cit.*, 178–79; Parker, *op. cit.*, 196.
[9] C. and J. D. Smith, *op. cit.*, 66; Thomas C. Battey, *The Life and Adventures of a Quaker among the Indians*, 95, 323; Rister, *Border Captives*, 18–19.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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252 plucked out and it was flung into the fire or red coals. When one would suppose that there was nothing left to the bird, the burnt, black mess was raked out, left to partially cool, then with dexterous movement of the knife the skin is peeled or stripped from the neck downwards taking the burned feathers, revealing a white and tempting morsel to a hungry man. It was then cut and torn apart.[10]

252 262 Even when game was plentiful, the Comanche taste for certain foods would not appeal to us. When a buffalo, beef, deer, antelope, or elk was killed, it was not uncommon for a hunter and his family to gather about, open its veins, and drink the warm blood. Raw brains and the marrow from the leg bones were stirred together on the flesh side of the hide or in a dish made by cutting out a section of the slaughtered animal's ribs, and were consumed without further preparation. The fresh, warm liver covered with the contents of the gall bladder was considered one of the finest delicacies. Children crowded around the butcher and begged for it. Liver cooked on coals and spread with rich marrow also formed a choice dish. Entrails stripped of their contents by drawing them between two fingers, kidneys, paunch, loin tallow, and the tallow around the kidneys were all eaten raw while still warm and without washing. A Comanche would cut into the udder of an animal and, placing his mouth on the gash, suck the warm mixture of milk and blood with the greatest of pleasure. The curdled milk from the stomach of a suckling fawn or calf was a delicacy indeed. Herman Lehmann also refers to their having eaten the heart, but this appears to have been unusual, for it was generally left within the skeleton,[11] probably a ceremonial gesture to propitiate the animal spirit. These appetites may have been indelicate from our point of view, but they provided an effective way to get vitamins and iron in large quantities. The Comanche would have had the hearty approval of the modern dietitian.

222 Although buffalo meat was their dietary mainstay, the Comanches did not suffer the unrelieved monotony of boiled stew and jerked

[10] R. G. Carter, *On the Border with MacKenzie*, 279.

[11] Herman Lehmann, *Nine Years among the Indians*, 115, 116; Smithwick, *op. cit.*, 180.

meat. They raised no vegetables of their own, yet they came from a background of food gatherers and did not forget their heritage. They utilized a large number of vegetables and fruits. Women did most of the seeking for plants, but even the men knew what was growing about them and how to use it. G. G. Carlson and V. H. Jones have given the expert judgment that "the average Comanche has a very good knowledge of his plant environment and particularly of those plants which are or have been of value to his tribe."[12] Fifty-two wild plants with their uses as given by Comanche informants in the work of the Santa Fé Laboratory group are listed by Carlson and Jones. Of these, twenty-seven different plants were used as food. It would seem that this number would compare rather favorably with the variety of fruits and vegetables eaten by most Americans today. Twenty-two of the listed plants were used for medicinal effect in the Comanche native pharmacology.

The facts, when marshaled, simply do not support the statement of Captains R. B. Marcy and G. B. McClellan that fresh meat was the only food of the Comanches "with the exception of a few wild plants which they find on the prairies."[13]

Among the fruits, the persimmon, mulberry, "haws," wild plums, grapes and currants, juniper berries, hackberries, prickly pear cactus, and sumac were gathered. Persimmons were eaten fresh and also dehydrated and stored. For storing, the persimmon was beaten to a pulp, the seeds removed, and the paste sun-dried in cakes. The cakes were later soaked in water and used in a variety of ways. Plums were eaten fresh or stored for winter use in a similar manner, as were also grapes. Prickly pears were sun-dried for winter use, and hackberries were pulped, mixed with fat, and roasted in balls on the end of a stick.

Pecan nuts were an obvious delicacy for any Indians living in Texas or Oklahoma, and if times were hard, the Comanches shelled and boiled the acorn of the blackjack oak.

For starchy substance all Comanche bands dug and ate the tuberous roots of Indian potato, either raw or boiled—and one band, remember, was even called the *Yep-eaters*. Four or five other root plants,

[12] G. G. Carlson and V. H. Jones, "Some Notes on Uses of Plants by the Comanche Indians," *Papers* of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters, Vol. XXV (1940), 518.

[13] Marcy, *Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in the year 1852*, 111.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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222 like wild onions, radishes, and Jerusalem artichoke were also exploited—nor was the bulb of the sego lily overlooked.

[261] A truly favorite sweet dish for the Comanche was a mush made of buffalo marrow mixed with crushed mesquite beans, which are very high in sugar content.

262 439 Dried pumpkins, pumpkin seeds, and corn were obtained in trade from the Kiowas, Wichitas, and other tribes to the east. Corn was not really used very much, although the Comanches did like to make a drink of boiled corn meal sweetened with mesquite. If they had let this concoction ferment, as did the Gila River tribes of Arizona, they could have had an alcoholic mead, but the Comanches did not know how to brew beer or ferment wines from their grapes.

[276] Tobacco was obtained in trade with the Mexicans and not grown at all.

263 Honey added flavor to the Comanche diet. So highly in favor was it that one band received the name *Penatɜkɔ* or Honey-eaters. The honey bee seems to have been abundant along the Cross Timbers of the eastern Comanchería. Honey was bagged in skin containers and could be kept indefinitely.

251 The original K-ration was pemmican, beloved of the Comanches and many other tribes of Indians. Wild berries, cherries, or plums, pounded well and partially dried in the sun, or walnuts, piñons, or pecans gave flavor to the dried meat, which was pounded thoroughly, softened over a fire, and then mixed with the pounded fruit or nuts. Tallow and marrow fat were added, and the mixture was stored either in parfleche bags (ɔyɔ:ɾ), in large intestines which probably had been no more than partially cleaned, or in paunches. Before the container was firmly tied, melted tallow was sometimes poured over the whole to make it air tight. In either container, the pemmican with proper care would keep for years. It was greatly prized by the whites, particularly when sliced and dipped in honey. They called it "Indian bread," for since the Comanches had no bread, this was the nearest substitute. Children went about eating it as American children eat candy. When other foods were available, dried meat and pemmican were saved for times of food scarcity.

264 It was generally believed by the whites that the Comanches had no regular times for meals, that they ate at all hours of the day or

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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first foods. All informants hasten to emphasize that it is not an original Comanche rite and that it has seldom been used by them. According to observers, the Comanches did not follow the customary procedure and ritual of their neighbors, but adapted the ceremony to their own fancy and practical situation. The ceremony was sponsored by the village headman, who secured the services of a prominent medicine man for the occasion. Instructions were issued, and at the appointed time all the people of the camp gathered at the accustomed meeting place. During the afternoon, the medicine man mixed his herbs and roots and boiled them until he had a thick broth. When the mixture was ready, he scattered his coals and addressed the people who had seated themselves around him in the customary fashion—the principal men immediately around him, the young warriors just back of them, and the women and children on the outside of the circle. He told them of the benevolence of the Great Spirit who had given them food in season and exhorted his listeners to be thankful for it.

After he had finished speaking, the people joined hands in two circles, one inside the other, and danced and sang to the accompaniment of drum and rattle. After about thirty minutes the headman had them line up and file past the medicine man, who gave each in turn a spoonful of his medicine. Stubborn children were compelled to swallow by holding their chins up until the medicine went down. The medicine was a strong purgative used for cleansing the system before eating the first green corn of the season.

That night or the next evening a number of fires were kindled near the circle, and the women roasted a quantity of green corn, which they piled on buffalo hides. After the roasting was finished, all the people sang and danced. When the dancers wearied, they sat in a circle, and the medicine man again addressed them. At the close of the address, he stood over the piles of corn and with his hands and eyes lifted toward the sky prayed for the Great Spirit to continue to give his people strong power. The people then ate the corn and returned to their lodges.[28]

So it was that the Comanches sought and manipulated power. If religion is the complex of man's interrelations with the supernatural

[28] Lee, *op. cit.*, 155–57; Barnes, *op. cit.*, 66–68, gives a disappointing account of a ceremony witnessed by the Reverend John Melville.

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
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the plains proper have been gathered chiefly as incidental parts of larger ethnographic studies, are generally meager, and are widely scattered. Two notable lists of plants used by Indians of the northern Plains are those of Grinnell for the Cheyenne (9) and McClintock for the Blackfoot (13). For the tribes of the southern Plains there is almost nothing available.[2] It is to assist in filling this hiatus in southern Plains ethnobotany that this paper is offered.

The data have been tabulated in order to present the material in compact form and to provide a convenient listing of plants by scientific name, common name, Comanche name, or by use (Table I). In the discussion the plants are arranged according to function, i.e. nutritive, medicinal, technological, and the like. Whenever convenient, identical or similar uses of the same or related plants by other tribes are pointed out. A small amount of data on Comanche uses of plants is drawn from other sources. We are grateful to Dr. E. Adamson Hoebel for permission to include some of his unpublished notes on plant names and plant uses of the Shoshone Indians, collected among the northern Shoshone of the Fort Hall Reservation, Idaho, in 1934.

The phonetic alphabet employed in recording the Comanche plant names is that of the International Phonetic Association. Since this alphabet is in common use and should be readily available to the reader it is not reproduced here.[3] We are further grateful to Dr. Hoebel for assistance in checking the phonetics of plant names.

Wissler (26, pp. 218–219) lists among the chief traits of the typical Plains tribes "the dependence upon the buffalo or bison, and the very limited use of roots and berries." Marcy and McClellan (15, p. 102) state that fresh meat was the only food of the Comanche "with the exception of a few wild plants which they find on the prairies." Our data seem to indicate that rather full use was made of the available flora. Many fruits and berries were eaten and must have offered a welcome variation to the monotony of the meat diet. Nuts, starchy roots, bulbs, and various other plant parts were also utilized. Some of these offered only fresh seasonal food, and others

[2] Since this paper was written a monograph by P. A. Vestal and R. E. Schultes has appeared in which over a hundred Kiowa economic plants are discussed (*The Economic Botany of the Kiowa Indians as It Relates to the History of the Tribe*, Botanical Museum, Cambridge, Mass., 1939, 110 p.).

[3] For a slightly modified form of this alphabet see Bloomfield (2, p. 547).

[Text continues on p. 526.—Analyst]

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824 were preserved for later use. The manner of preparation and storage
262 is of considerable interest.

824 The fruits of the persimmon (*Diospyros virginiana*) were eaten
262 fresh or were dried and stored for future comsumption. The per-
251 simmon was commonly used in this manner by various tribes in the southern prairies and in the Southeast, and it is frequently mentioned in early historical accounts. The common method of preparation for storage seems to have been to beat the ripe fruits to a pulp, remove the seeds, and dry the paste. The cakes thus formed were later softened in water and prepared in various ways for eating. The persimmon has achieved little commercial importance, but is still widely used and esteemed by Indians and whites wherever it is available. An informant also described a black persimmon (Comanche: *dunaseika*) obtained in Texas and Mexico. This was doubtless the Mexican persimmon (*Brayodendron texanum*), which occurs from central Texas southwestward into Mexico.

The fruits of the mulberry (*Morus rubra*) were eaten fresh, when ripe, but no attempt was made to store them. This species is the one most generally preferred by Indians, from the Iroquois country to Kansas and Missouri and southward.

The fresh ripe fruits of two hawthorns or "haws" (*Crataegus spp.*) were eaten by the Comanche. According to an informant, one should shout like a wolf before partaking of them, or he will be sure to get stomach-ache and constipation. An indication of the wide use of Crataegus fruits is a list, compiled by Yanovsky (27, pp. 30–31), of eleven species used by various tribes of Indians from the eastern states to California and British Columbia.

The Comanche names for several wild "plums" were recorded, including designations for early plums, late summer plums, and fall plums. It is quite likely that some of the "plums" are wild cherries or chokecherries. Only one was collected, the Chickasaw plum (*Prunus angustifolia*). The fruits of this species were either eaten fresh or stored for winter use. Another kind of plum (Comanche: *su:kui*) was also said to be stored after the seeds had been removed and the fruits dried on a hide in the sun. Later they were boiled in water and eaten. In the winter the Indians sometimes obtained
[222] plums by tracking pack rats to their nests and taking the hoarded supply.

Several species of wild grapes (*Vitis spp.*) were available to the

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Comanche and were either eaten fresh or dried in the sun and stored. The dried fruits were dampened, worked into cakes, and baked, fat sometimes being added in the process. Wild currants (*Ribes odoratum*) were eaten fresh, but were not preserved, as they were among many tribes. Another fruit (Comanche: *kusi:poko*) was not seen, but was described as being black, and round, like a grape, and was said to be eaten fresh. Children were reported to be very fond of the sour acid fruits of the sumac (*Rhus glabra*), and various species were eaten by Indians wherever sumac was available.

The berries of the juniper or red cedar (*Juniperus virginiana*) also served as food on occasion, the practice of eating juniper berries of various species being common among the Indians of the Southwest and elsewhere. The Comanche name for the red cedar was given as *ekawa:p*^{v}, and it was explained that *eka* is the term for "red." No etymology of *wa:p* was obtained. To judge from Chamberlain's discussion (6, pp. 63–64), *wap* seems to be a root word for "cedar" in the Shoshonean languages. If this is the case, then the Comanche term *ekawa:p*^{v} is an exact equivalent of the colloquial English term "red cedar" for the same plant.

The succulent fruits of prickly-pear cactus (*Opuntia sp.*) were eaten fresh and were also dried for winter use. No specimens were collected, but the descriptions by informants leave no doubt as to the identity of the plants. The spines were rubbed from the fruits designed for storage, the seeds removed, and the pears dried in the sun. Another cactus, also, was edible, but an informant stated that before eating its fruit one should take the red juice and paint a cross on his forehead to prevent consequent diarrhea. A third cactus (Comanche: *eka mitsa:*) was said to be obtained in Texas, but the notes do not mention whether or not it was a food plant.

The fruits of the southern hackberry (*Celtis laevigata*) were beaten, pits and all, into a pulp and mixed with fat. This mixture was rolled into balls, which were placed on the ends of sticks and roasted over a fire. The Pawnee had a similar method of preparing hackberries, but added parched corn as well as fat (7, p. 76). Hackberries were commonly eaten by Indians of the Southeast, the Plains, and the Southwest, the usual practice being to consume pit and all. In this connection it is interesting to note that in chemical analyses of hackberries prepared in the Indian manner Yanovsky *et alii* (29) found not only considerable amounts of carbohydrates and protein

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824 262 251 145 but also a high mineral content. The chief mineral constituent was calcium carbonate, which accounted for about one quarter of the dry weight of the fruits. It seems that the scanty-pulped, unpromising-appearing hackberry may have been a valuable element in the diet of the Indians.

824 262 The tuberous roots of the Indian potato or *camote de ratón* (*Hoffmanseggia Jamesii*) were eaten raw or were boiled. Roots of related species were similarly treated by the Apache and certain Pueblo Indians of the Southwest (3, p. 52; 4, p. 42).

[252] The "roots" of another plant (Comanche; *tun'ha:*) were said to be eaten fresh or after they had been peeled, dried in the sun, and pulverized. The plant, which was described as growing along with the mesquite, was not seen, but the description and the manner of use suggest that it was probably some member of the genus Cymopterus. This opinion is strengthened by the similarity of the Comanche name to the Gosiute term (*tuña*) for *Cymopterus montanus* (6, p. 96). A single species (*Cymopterus acaulis*) is listed as occurring in Oklahoma (23, p. 373).

[252] Two kinds of "wild onions" were described. A large, sweet-flavored variety (Comanche: *pakø:k*) was prepared by braiding the plants together and roasting over a fire. A smaller onion (Comanche: *t?diekø:k*), with red flowers, was considered less desirable. Wild onions were commonly eaten by various tribes of Indians, and it is not unlikely that both these plants actually belong to the genus Allium. Several species occur in Oklahoma.

Another plant (Comanche: *siko:*) was said to have leaves somewhat like those of a wild onion and to have blue flowers. The "root" (bulb?), which is eaten raw, has a sweet taste. This description strongly suggests the camass or swamp sego (*Camassia esculenta*), an important food plant of the northern Plains and the Plateau regions. The Gosiute name *pa-si-go* (6, p. 30) and the Snake name *paseego* (1, p. 9) are somewhat similar to the *siko:* of the Comanche. The Paiute name (*sego*) and the Gosiute name (*sigo*) (5, p. 498; 6, p. 30) for the Mariposa lily (*Calochortus spp.*) are even more similar to the Comanche term, but A. F. Chamberlain (5, p. 498) points out that the word *sego* in the Paiute language is a general term for bulbous roots. Calochortus, apparently, is eliminated because it does not have a blue flower and does not occur in Oklahoma (23). *Camassia esculenta* fits the description well and is available in Comanche

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County (23, p. 56); it is probably the plant to which the informant had reference. 824 262

The underground portion of a plant (Comanche: *e'kakoni*) described as "growing like a radish and having a root like a radish" was said to be peeled, and eaten raw. The "root" was further described as red and sweet-tasting. Except for the color, the plant might well be the widely used prairie turnip or *pomme blanche* (*Psoralea esculenta*) of the northern Plains. Grinnell (9, p. 178) describes, however, the Cheyenne use of a related species (*Psoralea hypogeae*) the root of which is red and which bears the same Cheyenne name as the *pomme blanche*, with a prefix meaning "red." This latter plant occurs in southwestern Oklahoma and may be the one in question.

A plant (Comanche: *totox'd*) resembling a small tomato bears a "root" (tuber?) about the size and shape of a walnut. This "root" is peeled before being eaten; the flesh is light in color. The description applies well to the wild potatoes (*Solanum Jamesii* and *Solanum Fendleri*) commonly used in the Southwest except that the plants are said to "appear in the spring and not last long." These wild potatoes are not listed in the flora of Oklahoma (23).

Several other plants which produced underground parts useful as food were mentioned by informants, and the Comanche names have been recorded. An herb (Comanche: *taḅaxko*) was collected in the spring, and the roots were cooked with fat to make a soup. A grayish vine (Comanche: *tsuns*) grows deep and produces a root which is roasted after its thin skin has been removed. (This might be some species of Smilax.) A "root" described as "like a sweet potato" (Comanche: *qstanarizka*) was said to grow in sandy places. This "root" is peeled and roasted. Another edible "root" which was compared to a potato has the Comanche name *sehetsitsina*. It was eaten either boiled or roasted. On the basis of its name and its use Hoebel (correspondence, April, 1939) suggests that this is the Indian potato, a plant which, he notes, "Grows in hills, flowers like Sweet William," and has "small white tubers, ripe in spring, [that are] boiled and eaten." Even with this description we are unable to suggest a specific identification. 824 262 252

A plant (Comanche: *paiyap*) was described as having a blossom like that of a sunflower, and edible "roots" prepared by roasting or boiling. This suggests the so-called Jerusalem artichoke (*Helianthus* 824 262

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824 *tuberosus*), but some other plant might fit the description equally well.
262 Hoebel (10) records three Shoshone food plants the names of which suggest a relationship to the Comanche *paiyap*. The first of these (Shoshone: *yep* or *muhaiyep*) has a single "root," grows in the hills, and is harvested in early March. The second (Shoshone: *ṭimbiyep*, that is, "rock *yep*") grows in rocky outcrops. It is of interest to note here that Chamberlain (6, p. 46) gives the Gosiute term *tiṁ-bo-ip* (rock + root + plant) for plants growing over rocks. The third has the Shoshone name *piayep*, meaning "big *yep*," which appears to be the Shoshone equivalent of the Comanche *paiyap;* it is described as having several large tubers.

824 252 263 The pod of the mesquite (*Prosopis glandulosa*) contains a considerable amount of gummy saccharine material, of which a number of analyses have been made. One of the more recent shows the beans to contain about twenty per cent sugar (28, p. 656). The Comanche [415] crushed them in a mortar made of buffalo hide, using a pestle of mesquite wood. After the beans were crushed, the seeds were removed and the pods pounded to a fine meal, which was used alone or added to corn meal as a sweetening. A mush was prepared by [272] mixing mesquite meal with marrow, and a drink (Comanche: *pihi-sawanap*) was made by combining mesquite meal and corn meal in water. Whether or not this drink was allowed to ferment is not mentioned in the notes. The Comanche preparation and uses of [171] the mesquite beans are almost identical with those of the Apache and the tribes of the Gila region of Arizona (3, pp. 43–44; 4, pp. 41, 53), where the mesquite was a staple food. Among these tribes a fermented beverage was prepared from the mesquite alone or from a mixture of mesquite and corn meal.

824 261 171 In times of scarcity the acorns of the blackjack oak (*Quercus marilandica*) were eaten. They were shelled and boiled, and might be stored for future use. The Comanche, unlike many other tribes, did not grind them into meal, but ate them whole. Castetter (3, p. 47) reports that certain of the Pueblos also boiled the kernels whole. Acorns were widely used as food by various tribes, particularly in the Southwest, the Southeast, and California, and among some Indians in the latter region they were the major food staple.

The roots of several plants were eaten or chewed merely for their flavor. These seem to have been chiefly in the nature of famine foods and food supplements rather than staples. The roots of a

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thistle (*Cirsium undulatum*), the Comanche name of which was *tsɔn*, were eaten raw. This same species (listed as *Cnicus undulatus*) and others were used in much the same manner by the Gosiute (6, p. 56), who called the plants *tsin'ga* or *tsi'na*. The Snake Indians ate the roots of a thistle (listed as *Cnicus eriocephalus*, 1, p. 10), which they called *tsinah*. Hoebel (10) gives the Shoshone name of another thistle as *tsɔ'ntnɔ* and states that the root was eaten after being roasted in ashes. Its stalk, while young and tender, was eaten raw, and had the interestingly similar Shoshone name *tsɔ'ngabok*. A plant not collected and not seen but described as a water lily furnished edible roots, which were prepared by boiling. Two plants of the water-lily family (Nymphaeaceae) which were widely used by Indians in this manner and which would have been available to the Comanche (23, pp. 144, 145) are the American lotus (*Nelumbo lutea*) and the yellow pond lily (*Nymphaea advena*). The plant in question was probably one of these. The roots of the button snakeroot (*Liatris punctata*) were chewed, the juice being swallowed for its rich fatty taste, and those of the sweet-flavored purple prairie clover (*Petalostemum purpureum*) were likewise relished. The roots of the purple prairie clover and the white prairie clover (*Petalostemum candidum*) were similarly used by the Ponca (7, p. 94); those of another prairie clover (*Petalostemum oligophyllum*) found favor among some of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico (3, p. 33). The inner bark of a hawthorn (*Crataegus sp.*) was said to serve as a chewing gum.

The nuts of the pecan (*Carya illinoensis*) were eaten fresh or were stored, without preparation, for winter use, as were those of the black walnut (*Juglans nigra*). Native wild pecan trees are plentiful in the rich valleys of the Comanche county and southward, and the nuts were prized by the Indians. They have been adopted as a delicacy by the white man, also, and the produce of both wild and cultivated trees is today an item of considerable economic importance.

Most Indian tribes make considerable use of plants as salads or greens and also steep the leaves in water to prepare various beverages. It is surprising that the Comanche notes do not include a single plant used for greens, and mention only two whose leaves were utilized in making drinks. The leaves of bush clover (*Lespedeza capitata*) were boiled in water to furnish a tea. The other beverage was prepared from the foliage of a plant said to grow in damp places and to have red fruits. This description strongly suggests the mem-

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824 bers of the genus Ilex, which were similarly used. The well-known
262 "black drink" of the Southeastern Indians was prepared from *Ilex*
272 *vomitoria*, *Ilex cassine*, and perhaps from other species. However, although four species of Ilex are listed for Oklahoma (23, pp. 299–300), their range is given as in the southeastern part of the state, and they perhaps do not occur near the Comanche reservation.

000 Hoebel's notes on the Shoshone (10) contain an interesting item to which we know no parallel. He records the use of a plant (Shoshone: *po':int*ˢ) which is described as similar to the maidenhair fern (*Adiantum spp.*). The minute orange "seeds [sporangia?] in the leaves" were threshed by rubbing the leaves between the hands, and were then winnowed, ground, and boiled in water for soup.

824 A number of Comanche plant medicines were recorded, for a
278 rather wide variety of ailments. Most of these medicines seem to be in the nature of practical home remedies, and few have anything of magic or of ceremony about them. Chamberlain (6, p. 46) gives the Gosiute term for medicine as *na'-tsu*. It is interesting to note that a number of the Comanche names for important medicines have this ending.

[844] The flowers of the sneezeweed (*Helenium microcephalum*) were broken up and inhaled to induce sneezing as an aid in the expulsion of afterbirth. These flowers were similarly used in clearing the nasal passages. It seems likely that the plant would be effective for such purposes, as it secretes a resin which Stemen and Meyers (23, p. 599) say is poisonous to some people; it causes a skin condition similar to that produced by poison oak (poison ivy). This resin in contact with the nasal membranes would probably induce sneezing.

Two other plants were said to be employed in obstetrical cases.
[841] A tea made from the root of an unidentified plant (Comanche: *pchenatsu*) was drunk to check excessive menstrual discharge. The Arikara also use a root for this purpose, that of the mallow (*Malva coccinea*) triturated with the gum from the chokecherry and given as a drink (8, p. 74). After childbirth the Comanche woman was
[844] laid on a padding of plants of silvery wormwood (*Artemisia filifolia*) over hot coals. No explanation of this procedure was obtained; the plant was widely used, however, both medicinally and ceremonially, throughout the Plains region, and smoke from it was considered effective in purification.

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
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844 for her to lie down upon. They would be so particular as to sift the earth through the fingers, and detect and take out everything but the soft pulverized earth. Upon this spot she would pass her hour, when she would rise, take up her child, throw a blanket about her, and go to the nearest stream, bathe herself and child, and return to her business the same day, as though nothing had happened! – and it was the same thing whether she was at home, or pursuing a journey. Some of my readers may think the above too great a tax upon their credulity; but I can assure them, upon the veracity of one who has been a witness in several instances, that such is the fact.

841 In the case of catamenia, the woman instantly leaves her tent, and, as far as possible, seeks a place of concealment from her husband and family; she declines all company, especially of men, nor will she speak to one if she can avoid it. Should there be any article of her neighbor's within her tent at the time of her leaving it, it is thrown out upon the ground, and there it remains until they leave that place for some other, when the owner picks it up; but on no occasion will her family bring anything from abroad into her tent while she is [426 absent. If the family with whom she stays are under 783] the necessity of borrowing any article while she is with them, it is washed with the utmost care, when ● [362] it is brought in, and when it is to be sent home. She remains in her [*60*] retreat four days, during

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
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which time she takes no food, except a little broth and some kind of vegetables; but on no account will she taste of meat of any kind until her four days are expired; after that, she bathes herself and returns to her husband.

As to cleanliness in their persons, I think them the most particular people I ever saw. They bathe at all seasons of the year. I have frequently seen them, both men and women, break the ice for this purpose; and they are punctilious not to eat without washing. I never knew one of them to rise and go abroad without washing. They are very particular in the above respect with regard to their children; they are also far from being as indifferent to the kind and preparation of their food, as one might suppose. The men eat horse-flesh when they can get nothing else; but their women, as a general thing, will not taste of it, nor will they permit it to come near their dwellings. They subsist mostly upon buffalo meat, with some other game, which they cook, in a cleanly manner, with various kinds of vegetables, some of which possess somewhat of the quality, and they have the faculty of preparing it as a good substitute for bread.

In conclusion, perhaps I ought to say, that with reference to a point, of all others of the most sacred importance to a captive female, (with gratitude to my Maker I record it.) my fears were in no part realized.

Query. – Is it not strange, indeed, that a nation

192 *miz* + -?]; namocono?i? *tweezers* [na- + mo·cO *whiskers* + no?I *pluck* + -?]; *namocowïcke? *razor* (*whisker cutter*); namuvIsicïma? *handkerchief* (*wipe, rub something off one's nose*); nana?atahpunaha? *taffeta, changeable cloth* (*change in different ways*); narïmu?irïvo·pI *newspaper* (*tells a story paper*); *nani?o·ki? *court* [na- + ni?o·kI *call people together* + -?]; nano·? *harness*, old people's word (*its load*); *nayohkahnI *brothel* [na- + yo·kO *copulate* + kahnI *house*]; *nayokOwa?ihpï? *prostitute* (*woman who copulates*); nï·pïcapI *operation* (*cut one open*); nï·pohpi? *skipping-rope* (*make one's self jump*); nï·hïca?wï? *fan* [nï· + hïhca?wI *cool a person* + -?]; nïmivó·?e·tI *camera* (*customarily draws people*); nïmimáka?e·tI *waitress, waiter* (*customarily gives people food*); nïminó?e·tI *bus* (*customarily carries people*); nïmiwïcIke?e·tI *barber* (*customarily cuts people*); *ninakarïkï? *medal, badge* [nïnapI *chest* + ka·rI *sit* + -kï benefactive + -? nominalizer]; nïnaci?nika? *pin, brooch* (*push a pointed object onto the chest*); nïnïyï?wi? *alligator* [nï-, reduplicated (?) + yi?wi (swallow) + -?]; no?anohkopI *pie* (*pregnant bread*, baked); no?sina?camokwe? *Concord grapes* (*embryo grapes*); nohihtaivo·? *circus, carnival, fair* (*play White man*); nohihknI *theater* (*play house*); nohkopI *bread, biscuits* (*baked*); nukIsari·? *greyhound* (*run off dog*); nunurawï? *movies* [nunurawïpI *stampeded, ran off*, as buffalo herd].

*wanaramU *thread, cord* (*cloth sinew*); wanarasé·yu? *clown* (*cloth puffed out at the foot* re pantaloons); *wanako?ce? *soap* (*cloth washer*); *wanacahkïna? *needle* (*cloth sewer*); *wanaciya·? *flag, banner* (*cloth held up by a pointed instrument*); *wananapI *stockings* (*cloth shoes*); wanso·nA *cotton* [wanapI *cloth* + so·nA *pod*]; wansonamuvIcapI *open cotton boll* (*cotton opened with the mouth*) [so-called because of belief that whatever is inside breaks the boll open with its beak as does a hatching bird]; wïhavi·tI *parade* (*stretch along*, as vine, etc.); *wo?arïhkapI *rice* (*worm food*) [It was said that rice looks just like worms. It was thrown away when first received as rations];

[824]

●[262]

[P. 226-8]

192 used in various ball games.]; ʔitanucI *tipi pegs*; paya·pE *an edible tuber*; puhanahm-suapI *costume for Sun Dance (medicine clothes)*; puhkuhci? *contrary one* (The [171] [183] Comanche shared the general Plains trait of institutionalized contrary behavior); ta?siwó·? *buffalo (feet dragging)* [Used more commonly for buffalo by older Comanche than kuhcU or nīmīkuhcU]; taté?cI[185] *spider (our brother-in-law)*; pihīre?cI *tarantula (hairy brother-in-law [spider])*; tamakwasu? *buckskin dress decorated with elk teeth (tooth dress)*; tīvahpI *pinon nuts*; tikehkwa?I *a hunting party out to secure an immediate supply of meat*; kwahinacu?U *plover (back medicine)*; kwi?nai *eagle* (Said to be an older word for eagle than piahuhcu?, *big bird*); cihavihka?I *to be menstruating (to become starved)* [841] [Women were supposed to fast while menstruating]; cuhnikorohkO *bone breastplate*; so?me? *tanned buffalo hide*; haivī·yI *helldiver* (probably haic *friend* + pī·yī *duck*. Said to be a sacred bird and a common guardian spirit); hi?o·wihturu?A *windbreak of dead sunflower stalks*;[186] huhkU *collarbone, flute made of a collarbone*; mi· *custom of giving away surplus food*; narohpa· *medicine given one by a supernatural* (na-, reflexive tohpa *dig out* + -?, nominalizer); nacóhkwe? *mesquite* (see cohkwe *to pound*; ● [262] mesquite beans were pounded into a mush and eaten); namavicó·?ni? *mesquite (to*

[185] This and the following word must be understood with reference to the reciprocal joking relationship between Comanche brothers-in-law. Thomas Gladwin, Comanche Kin Behavior, AA 50: 73-94, p. 87 (1948), gives *our testicles* and *our smell of dog's urine* as common phases substituted for this relationship term.

[186] Windbreaks are a Shoshone trait, Julian H Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XXIII. Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records 8: 3, p. 272 (University of California. 1943).

[p. 239-B]

192 [262] *squeeze juice out*; a soup was made of juice from mesquite pods); naninasu?aitĪ *taboo against mentioning the name of a dead person*; niep! *tornado, a mythical big red bat*; wĭ·yu? *awl*; wo?anacu?U *ragweed (back-bone medicine)* woinU *flute* (Applied now to the modern flute); yu?ane·? *bull-roarer* (Used by medicine-men and in peyote ceremonies).

825 Especially noteworthy in Comanche is a well-defined pattern of synonymous animal terms which figure prominently in stories, myths and songs. Their abundance in the language indicates a knowledge of and interest in animal life which may in part be a relic of an earlier Shoshonean cultural 825 tradition. Also, animal names were fre- 551 quently used in Comanche personal names and the strong taboo on using words associated with a dead person's name may have resulted in the creation of new metonymical terms which then became established in the 825 language. These synonymous animal names are frequently descriptive or they may reflect a folk belief or attitude toward the animal in question. A list of these various terms for a number of familiar animals follows:

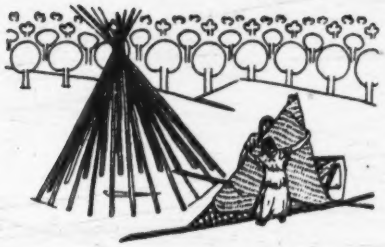
Bear: parua?; wasape?; wĭra?;[117] ?ohamul·we?ya·hr *something yellow [feces] smeared on his nose*; piarâhpanakatĪ *has big soles*; pihĭsoyo? *hair hanging down*; tu·piarai? *black big anus.*

Coyote: ce·na?; ?isA *false, deceitful*; ?oha?ahnakatĪ *has yellow armpits*; kawosA (The meaning of this word was given by one informant as something like *has a bag of tricks*); kĭhwria? *drooler*; narĭmiwahtĪ *has no owner* (as compared with a dog).

Cottontail Rabbit: ?eka?e?re·? *red nape*; tiehtavu?kina? *little rabbit (jackrabbit)*; hu·tavu?kina? *wood rabbit*; na?nohka? *can be baked*; yu?naivĭhĭ? *soft hair.*

Opossum: pa?ĭnó?a? *pregnant outside*;

[117] The first three unanalyzable words may originally have referred to different species. See Julian H. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, BAE-B 120, pp. 274-83 (1938).



XXIX

599 1. soobe?ʌ$_1$ nʌnʌ$_2$ nʌmʌkahnikʌ$_3$ nʌmʌnaahkatʌʌ$_4$. 2. nʌ$_1$ bia?se?$_2$ pibiapʌhi$_3$ waawatayʌkwi?eeyu$_4$, nʌmʌ$_5$ kahni$_6$ pʌmatu$_7$ pʌ$_8$ karʌkʌtu?iha$_9$. 3. surʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ suni$_3$ u$_4$ mʌʌ?etʌ$_5$, u$_6$ karʌkʌ?eeyu$_7$, kʌhtaaku$_8$ u$_9$ rawʌni?i?eeyu$_{10}$. 4. ukuhpa$_1$ nʌmi$_2$ ʌmakʌni?aikʌ?eeyu$_3$. 5. surʌse?$_1$ suni$_2$ u$_3$ mʌʌ?etʌ$_4$, pahibahku$_5$ nʌmi$_6$ wʌhtaráa?aikʌ?eeyu$_7$, pʌpa?a$_8$ nʌmʌ$_9$ ʌhkooitu?iha$_{10}$. 6. surʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ nʌmi$_3$ kutʌhó-rakʌ?eeyu$_4$, bʌkʌku$_5$ bʌ$_6$ tʌkʌhmanitu?iha$_7$. 7. surʌse?$_1$ ukuku$_2$ nʌmi$_3$ saakʌ?etʌ$_4$, nʌmi$_5$ ku?inakʌ?etʌ$_6$, nʌmi$_7$ tʌkwʌsʌ́kʌ?eeyu$_8$. 8. surʌse?$_1$ pianohko?awobaaitʌ$_2$, ukuku$_3$ nʌmi$_4$ nohkókʌ?eeyu$_5$. 9. sʌsʌ?ana$_1$ nʌmi$_2$ yuhúnohkokʌ?-

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1. Long ago$_1$ we$_2$ lived$_4$ in (a) teepee$_3$. 2. My$_1$ mother$_2$ sets up$_4$ long$_3$ cedar poles$_4$ [then] she$_5$ will set up$_9$ our$_5$ house$_6$ on to it$_7$. 3. That one$_1$ then$_2$ does$_3$ it$_4$ that way$_5$, sets$_7$ it$_6$ up$_7$, (and) tightly$_8$ stakes$_{10}$ it$_9$. 4. Inside it$_1$ (she) makes a rain house for$_3$ us$_2$. 5. That one$_1$ does$_4$ it$_3$ that way$_2$, three separate$_5$ bed steads (she) makes for$_7$ us$_6$, what$_{10}$ 599 we$_9$ will sleep$_{10}$ on /it/$_8$. 6. That one$_1$ then$_2$ digs a fire hole 252 for$_4$ us$_3$, where$_5$ she$_6$ will cook$_7$. 7. That one$_1$ in that$_2$ [fire hole] boils for$_4$ us$_3$, roasts for$_4$ us$_3$, (and) cooks on 262 coals for$_8$ us$_7$. 8. That one$_1$ has a big biscuit oven$_2$, in it$_3$ (she) bakes biscuits for$_5$ us$_4$. 9. Sometimes$_1$ (she) cooks

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eeyu$_3$, tʌasʌ$_4$ ukuku$_5$ nʌmi$_6$ huba?aikʌ?eeyu$_7$. 10. surʌse?$_1$ nʌ$_2$ bia?$_3$ kʌ?rahúu?a$_4$ nʌmi$_5$ boma?eku$_6$, u$_7$ rayu?ne?eeyu$_8$. 11. wihnu$_1$ suni$_2$ u$_3$ mʌʌ?etʌ$_4$, u$_5$ yuhuma?aihku$_6$ nʌmi$_7$ ku?tsiyaakʌ?eeyu$_8$. 12. surʌse?$_1$ pʌmi$_2$ u$_3$ kwasʌkʌ?eku$_4$, tsaa$_5$ wihkámanu$_6$, tʌasʌ$_7$ tsaa$_8$ pihnákamanu$_9$. 13. surʌse?$_1$ pʌewatsi?kʌke$_2$ nʌmi$_3$ tsahani?eku$_4$, nʌmi$_5$ kusíwʌhpimakʌ?eeyu$_6$. 14. nʌnʌse?$_1$ onama?ai$_2$ tʌhkapʌma?aihku$_3$ u$_4$ rʌhká?eeyu$_5$. 15. surʌse?$_1$ tsɛa$_2$ kamanu$_3$. 16. nʌnʌse?$_1$ tuhpokóo?huuhpihta$_2$ po?ai$_3$ wʌsibo?a?etʌ$_4$, u$_5$ sanahkena$_6$ sibe?etʌ$_7$, u$_8$ hima?etʌ$_9$, hunu?betu$_{10}$ mia?eeyu$_{11}$. 17. nʌnʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ suhka$_3$ nʌmʌ$_4$ sibepʌha$_5$ kʌyu?ne?eeyu$_6$. 18. u$_1$ kʌyu?ne?etʌ$_2$, paakʌ$_3$ wihnu$_4$ u$_5$ kotsémia?eeyu$_6$. 19. sunise?$_1$ nʌnʌ$_2$ u$_3$ mʌʌ?etʌ$_4$, tutʌtɜaiwai$_5$ u$_6$ naha?eku$_7$, u$_8$ sanahkóo?kʌyu?ne?eeyu$_9$. 20. surʌse?$_1$ tʌbitsi$_2$ tsaa$_3$ /sanahkóo?$_4$ kamanu$_5$. 21. usʌse?$_1$ bʌnihku$_2$ nʌmʌ$_3$ sanahkóo?ai?ena$_4$. 22. subetʌ$_1$. 589

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fry bread for$_3$ us$_2$, also$_4$ in it$_5$ [the fire hole] (she) makes coffee for$_7$ us$_6$. 10. /That$_1$/ my$_2$ mother$_3$, when$_4$ we$_5$ pick$_6$ hackberries$_4$, (she) pounds$_8$ it$_7$ [them]. 11. Then$_1$ (she) does to$_4$ it$_3$ that way$_2$, with$_6$ /that$_5$/ fat$_4$ (she) roasts (it) on a stick for$_8$ us$_7$. 12. When$_4$ she$_3$ cooks for$_4$ us$_2$, that$_1$ tastes$_4$ good$_5$ (and) oily$_6$, also$_7$ tastes$_8$ good$_9$ (and) sweet$_9$. 13. When$_4$ we$_3$ pull up$_4$ wild onions$_2$, that one$_1$ cooks (it) in ashes for$_5$ us$_5$. 14. We$_1$ eat$_2$ it$_4$ with salt$_3$ (and) with meat$_3$. 15. That$_1$ tasted$_2$ good$_3$. 16. We$_1$ strip off$_4$ bark of$_3$ (a) tree$_2$ (bearing black berries), shave off$_7$ its$_5$ sap$_6$, take$_9$ it$_8$, (and) go$_{11}$ on to the creek$_{10}$. 17. We$_1$ then$_2$ chew$_6$ /that$_5$/ our$_4$ shavings$_3$. 18. Chew$_2$ it$_1$, then$_4$ wash$_4$ it$_3$ in water$_3$. 19. We$_2$ do$_4$ it$_3$ that way$_1$, (and) when$_7$ it$_6$ becomes$_7$ clean$_5$, (we) chew$_9$ it$_8$ as chewing gum$_9$. 20. That$_1$ chewing gum$_4$ tasted$_5$ really$_2$ good$_3$. 21. That$_1$ in that way$_2$ (we) make$_4$ our$_3$ chewing gum$_4$. 22. That is all$_1$. 539 252 262 539 261

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

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539 1. soobe?ʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌs$_2$ Fort Sill-kutʌ$_3$ wahahtʌh$_4$ nʌmare-
nanʌh$_5$ tʌwoonukwa$_6$. 2. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ soo$_2$ u$_3$ royabaihku$_4$
nanisuyake$_5$ u$_6$ rʌrʌehbaahunu?baihku$_7$ ukʌhu$_8$ nobitʌnu$_9$.
3. surʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?anʌkwʌ$_2$, —nah$_3$ ranʌ$_4$ ke$_5$ ka-
hni?aiwa?itʌʌ$_6$. 4. ihka$_1$ ranʌ$_2$ waahpihta$_3$ toponiwekiku$_4$
robo?iti$_5$ kahnibaitu?i$_6$. — 5 surʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ tenanʌkwʌ$_2$,
—tsaatʌ$_3$ ma?$_4$. — me$_5$ niwʌnʌ$_6$. 6. surʌh$_1$ bʌhʌ$_2$ pukunii$_3$
urii$_4$ narʌnoo?ro?yanu$_5$, pʌhʌ$_6$ tʌnoopʌha$_7$ tsayumi?inu$_8$.
7. surʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌi$_2$ norʌnákʌnu$_3$. 8. sʌmʌ?kʌse?$_1$ tuu-
hunii$_2$. 9. sʌmʌ?kʌse?$_1$ konoohonii$_2$. 10. sʌmʌ?$_1$ u$_2$ tʌi?$_3$
toyamatu$_4$ pomami?anu$_5$. 11. surʌkʌse?$_1$ wihtua$_2$ tʌhpe?ku$_3$

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1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, from Fort Sill$_3$ two$_4$ Indian men$_5$
went hunting$_6$. 2. Those ones$_1$ where$_4$ it$_3$ had$_4$ many$_5$ moun-
tains$_4$, where$_7$ it$_4$ had$_7$ pretty$_5$ little creeks$_7$, there$_8$ (they)
camped$_9$. 3. Those two$_1$ women$_2$ (said) —We$_4$ just$_3$ won't$_5$
make a house$_6$. 4. We$_2$ will have a house of$_5$ these$_1$ ce—
dars$_3$ standing$_5$ in a circle$_6$.— 5. Those two$_1$ men$_2$ said$_6$ $_4$,
—It$_4$ is good$_3$.— 6. Those two$_1$ unsaddled$_6$ their$_2$ horses$_3$
for$_5$ them$_4$, took down$_8$ their$_6$ packs$_7$. 7. Those two$_1$ made
beds for$_3$ them$_3$. 8. One$_1$ went to fetch water$_3$. 9. One$_1$
went to fetch firewood$_2$. 10. One$_1$ her$_2$ friend$_3$ went to
[262] pick$_8$ [huckleberries] on /to/ the mountain$_4$. 11. That one$_1$

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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huabokóo?a4 bomanu5, wihnu6 bʌ7 kahnikʌhu8 bitusʌ9 mi?anu10. 12. u1 bitʌhkakʌse?2 pʌhʌ3 pomapʌha4 uhri5 tʌkʌbʌniku6, uhrʌ7 kumahpʌ?nʌkwʌ8 noohpitʌnu9. 13. sitʌkwʌkʌse?1 mahrʌ2 noopʌha3 tsayumi?inu4. 14. sitʌkwʌ1 puhipʌba?a2 pʌhʌ3 kohtoopʌha4 kʌma?kʌ5 ma6 rahni?inu7. 15. sitʌkwʌ1 bʌi2 saakʌnu3, tʌasʌ4 huba?ainu5, wihnu6 rʌasʌ7 yuhúnohkonu8. 16. ma1 sʌmʌkwasʌhka2, sitʌ3 puhipʌha4 rʌkʌsónanu5, wihnu6 yʌkwihtsi7, tʌhkánu8. 17. sitʌkwʌkʌse?1 pʌi2 tʌhkamaahka3, pʌhʌ4 awe5 tahni?inu6 18. sitʌkwʌkʌse?1 wihnu2 pʌhʌ3 ta?siwóo?rʌhkapʌka4 tʌasʌ5 pʌhʌ6 arʌka?rʌhkapʌka7 yʌkwinu8. 19. sitʌkwʌkʌse?1 ma2 inanu3. 20. tʌasʌkʌse?1 sitʌkwʌ2 bʌhʌ3 pomapʌkahti4 tʌhká?eeyu5. 21. surʌʌkʌse?1 tsaa2 pihnákamanu3. 22. sitʌkwʌkʌse?1 si?anetʌ2 inahpʌni3, nanaarʌmu?ikatʌ4. 23. sitʌʌkʌse?1 nanisuyakeku2 waahpihta3 puhipʌha4 ya?yʌkaku5 norʌnánu6. 24. sitʌkwʌ1 wihnu2 pʌhʌ3 inana4 marʌkanu5, tʌasʌ6 hubébinu7, tʌasʌ8 tʌkwʌsʌ́kʌnu9. 25. sitʌkwʌkʌse?1

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picked5 a bucket3 full3 (of) huckleberries4, then4 went10 back9 to8 her7 camp8. 12. When2 she1 arrived2, as4 they3 are eating much4 (of) their3 pickings4, their7 husbands8 arrived packing9. 13. These two1 took4 their2 load3 down4. 14. These two1 put7 it4 on leaves2 beside3 their3 fire4. 15. These two1 boiled for3 them2, also4 made coffee5, then6 also7 made fry bread8. 16. When2 it1 all was cooked3, these ones3 made a table of5 leaves4, then4 sitting down7, ate8. 17. When3 they2 finished eating3, these two1 put away4 their4 dishes5. 18. These two1 then2 sat down3 at4 their3 buffalo meat4 also5 at7 their6 deer meat7. 19. These two1 jerked3 it2. 20. Also1 these two2 were eating3 from4 their3 pickings4. 21. Those ones1 tasted3 good2 (and) sweet3. 22. These two1 at this place2 jerked much3, (they) are telling stories4. 23. These1 made a bed of4 nice2 soft3 cedar3 limbs4. 24. These two1 then2 finished3 their3 jerking4, also4 made coffee7, also8 cooked on coals9. 25. These two1 fin-

[262]

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XXXIV

539 1. soobe?ʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌs$_2$ su?ans$_3$ nʌmʌnʌʌ$_4$ kahníba?i$_5$.
2. urʌʌ$_1$ ahpʌ?kʌse?$_2$, —tas$_3$ kunatsa?$_4$ tsu?ma?i$_5$. —
3. surʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌ$_2$ kwʌhi$_3$, —tahi$_4$ nomohkakatu?i$_5$ nʌ?$_6$.
tahi$_7$ konookwatu?ika$_8$. — mekʌ$_9$. 4. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ si?anetʌ$_2$
mi?anu$_3$, hunu?betu$_4$. 5. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ hunu?betu$_2$ mi?anu$_3$,
si?ana$_4$ tobo?ihupiitʌ$_5$, pʌhʌ$_6$ waikinʌkahtu$_7$ pʌhʌ$_8$ tso?-
mepʌha$_9$ tʌbakimi?a$_{10}$. pʌhʌ$_{11}$ waikina$_{12}$ tʌhpé?kʌkʌnu$_{13}$.
6. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ kumahpʌ?$_3$, —ikʌhi$_4$ nʌ?$_5$ ma$_6$ pamʌ-
tso?nikʌhi$_7$ punitu?i$_8$, — mekʌse?$_9$ surʌ$_{10}$ yʌkwihtsi$_{11}$.
ukʌhu$_{12}$ mi?anu$_{13}$. piahuuma$_{14}$ ukʌhi$_{15}$ tsiwainu$_{16}$. 7. si?ana-
kʌse?$_1$ pamʌtso?nikaaba$_2$ parúuku?$_3$ haahpi$_4$. 8. sitʌkʌse?$_1$
ma$_2$ wʌhkúpanu$_3$. 9. surʌkʌse?$_1$ yuupʌ$_2$. 10. sitʌkʌse?$_1$
tenahpʌ?$_2$, —nohi?$_3$ tsaahtʌkʌhútu?i$_4$ tanʌ$_5$. — me$_6$ yʌkwii-
yu$_7$. 11. pʌhʌ$_1$ waikinʌkahtu$_2$ sitʌ$_3$ ma$_4$ wihínu$_5$. 12. si-
tʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ si?anetʌ$_2$ mi?anu$_3$, pʌʌ$_4$ kahnikʌhu$_5$. 13. si-

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539 1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, somewhere$_3$ Indians$_4$ had a home$_5$.
262 2. Their$_1$ father$_2$ (said), —Our$_3$ firewood$_4$ is used up$_5$.—
3. That one$_1$ said to$_2$ his$_3$ wife$_3$, —I$_4$ will hitch up for$_5$ us$_6$.
We two$_7$ will go to get firewood$_8$.— 4. These two$_1$ at this
place$_2$ went$_3$ towards (the) creek$_4$. 5. These two$_1$ went$_2$ to-
wards (the) creek$_3$, (and) here$_4$ came to a stop$_5$, (they) went
on loading$_{10}$ their$_8$ gatherings$_9$ into$_7$ their$_4$ wagon$_7$, (and)
their$_{11}$ wagon$_{12}$ filled up$_{13}$. 6. /This$_1$/ her$_2$ husband$_3$ (said),
—I$_5$ will look$_8$ in this$_4$ /this$_4$/ drift /in$_7$/,— that one$_{10}$ (was)
saying$_{9,11}$, (and he) went$_{13}$ there$_{12}$, (and) poked around$_{14}$ in
this$_{15}$ with (a) big stick$_{16}$. 7. Here$_1$ among the drifts$_2$ (a)
raccoon$_3$ was lying$_4$. 8. This one$_1$ killed$_3$ it$_2$. 9. That one$_1$
was (a) fat one$_2$. 10. This$_1$ man$_2$ said$_{4,7}$, —We$_3$ are about
to eat$_4$ very$_3$ good$_4$.— 11. This one$_3$ threw$_5$ it$_4$ into$_2$ their$_1$
wagon$_3$. 12. These two$_1$ at this place$_2$ went$_3$ to$_5$ their$_4$ houses$_5$.

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tʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ ma$_2$ kumahpʌ?$_3$ pʌhʌ$_4$ konoopʌ̲ha$_5$ tsayumi?inu̲$_6$, wihnu$_7$ piakohtoonu̲$_8$, sihka$_9$ parúuku?a$_{10}$ pʌhʌ́tsahkwe?yanu̲$_{11}$. 14. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ ma$_2$ kwʌhʌ$_3$ sukʌ̲hu$_4$ ma$_5$ kohtoopʌ̲ka$_6$ ma$_7$ ku?inanu̲$_8$. 15. sitʌʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ rʌhkánu̲$_3$, sihka$_4$ pʌʌ$_5$ ahpʌ?a$_6$ pʌmʌ$_7$ tʌbehkakʌ?i̲ha$_8$ u$_9$ ku?inʌ̲tsi$_{10}$. tsaahtʌhkanu̲$_{11}$. 16. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ marʌʌ$_2$ ahpʌ?$_3$, --tʌbitsi$_4$ tsaaku$_5$ tamʌ$_6$ tʌrʌe?tʌʌ$_7$ tʌhka?i̲nʌʌ$_8$. -- me$_9$ yʌkwiiyu̲$_{10}$. 17. pʌi$_1$ tʌkʌ̲-kakʌ̲se?$_2$ marʌʌ$_3$ tʌrʌe?tʌʌ$_4$ nohínuraahkwainu̲$_5$, pʌʌ$_6$ tʌhka?i̲ha$_7$ tʌbitsi$_8$ tsaa$_9$ wʌsukaatʌ̲$_{10}$. 18. subetʌ̲$_1$.

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13. This$_1$ her$_2$ husband$_3$ unloaded$_4$ their$_4$ firewood$_5$, then$_7$ (he) made a big fire$_8$, (and) (they) skinned$_{11}$ this$_9$ raccoon$_{10}$. 14. /This one$_1$/ his$_2$ wife$_3$ roasted$_8$ it$_7$ there$_4$ in$_4$ his$_5$ fire$_6$. 15. These ones$_1$ then$_2$ ate$_3$, roasting$_{10}$ /it$_9$/ this$_4$ what$_8$ their$_5$ father$_6$ killed for$_8$ them$_7$. (They) ate good$_{11}$. 16. This$_1$ their$_2$ father$_3$ said$_{9\,10}$. —Our$_6$ children$_7$ really$_4$ ate$_8$ good$_9$.— 17. When$_2$ they$_1$ ate$_2$, their$_3$ children$_4$ ran around playing$_8$, /and/ really$_8$ felt$_{10}$ good$_9$ about$_{10}$ what$_7$ they$_6$ ate$_7$. 18. That is all$_1$.

XXXV

539 1. soobe?sʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌʌ$_2$ atabitsinʌʌ$_3$ su?ana$_4$ nobitʌnu$_5$.
2. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ narʌhka?tsu?manu$_2$. 3. urʌʌ$_1$ nanawa?ihpʌ-
?anʌʌkʌse?$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$ kahni$_4$ yʌkwinu$_5$. 4. urʌʌmatʌkʌse?$_1$,
—tanʌwitsa$_2$ ohʌhi$_3$ ma$_4$ pia?ʌmahpaakʌhi$_5$ kʌrʌ?atsiha$_6$
taa$_7$ yʌihtʌhkaru?iha$_8$ ahwemi?anu$_9$.— 5. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ si-
?anetʌ$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$ ku?wʌhora?a$_4$ himahtsi$_5$, sukʌhu$_6$ ʌmahpaa-
kʌhu$_7$ mi?anu$_8$. 6. tahkwe?yu?itsi$_1$, pʌʌ$_2$ muhpe?ma?ai$_3$
makʌhu$_4$ weenu$_5$, tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_6$ sihka$_7$ kʌrʌ?atsiha$_8$
ahwénu$_9$. 7. sʌmʌ?kʌse?$_1$ urʌʌmatʌ$_2$, —keta?ka$_3$ mubisi-
tʌʌ$_4$ mahka$_5$ tai$_6$ ahweku$_7$.— me$_8$ urii$_9$ niikwiiyu$_{10}$.
8. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ si?anetʌ$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$ ahwepʌha$_4$ narʌsokoko$_5$
noohtsi$_6$, pʌʌ$_7$ kahnikʌhu$_8$ mi?anu$_9$. 9. sitʌʌ$_1$ pitʌnu$_2$.
10. pʌʌ$_1$ kahnikʌku$_2$ kohtoo?etʌtsi$_3$, sihka$_4$ pʌʌ$_5$ ahwe-
pʌha$_6$ takʌhmaninu$_7$. 11. sʌsʌmʌ?$_1$ marʌʌkʌ$_2$ tsuhnipʌma?-
aihku$_3$ ma$_4$ karʌkʌnu$_5$. 12. sʌsʌmʌ?kʌse?$_1$ pʌmʌ$_2$ u$_3$

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539 1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, other tribe of Indians$_3$ camped$_5$
222 there somewhere$_4$. 2. Those ones$_1$ ran out of groceries$_2$.
3. Their$_1$ womenfolk$_2$ set up$_5$ their$_3$ teepee$_4$. 4. One of
262 them$_1$ (said), —We ought to$_2$ go dig$_9$ water lily roots$_6$ in
that$_3$ /this$_4$/ big lake$_5$ /in/ /what$_8$/ [which] we$_7$ will eat for
supper$_8$.— 5. These ones$_1$ at this place$_2$ taking$_3$ their$_3$ hoes$_4$,
went$_8$ there$_6$ to (the) lake$_7$. 6. Taking off (their) shoes$_1$,
with$_3$ their$_2$ hoes$_3$ went down$_5$ in it$_4$, (and) dug up$_9$ a lot of$_4$
these$_7$ water lily roots$_8$. 7. One$_1$ of them$_3$ said$_8$ $_{10}$ to them$_9$,
—Don't$_3$ blow your noses$_4$ as$_7$ we$_6$ dig$_7$ this$_5$.— 8. These ones$_1$
at this place$_2$, carrying$_4$ their$_3$ diggings$_4$ in sacks$_5$, went$_9$ to$_8$
539 their$_7$ camp$_8$. 9. These ones$_1$ arrived$_2$. 10. Each one mak-
262 ing a fire$_3$ in$_5$ their$_1$ homes$_2$ (they) cooked$_7$ /this$_4$/ their$_5$
diggings$_4$. 11. Some$_1$ of them$_3$ boiled$_5$ it$_4$ with bones$_3$.
252 12. Some$_1$ /themselves$_2$/ fried$_4$ it$_3$ in$_4$ that$_3$ fat$_4$. 13. One$_1$

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yuhuk^4 u5 kwasʌ́kʌnu4. 13. sʌmʌ?k^se?1, —nʌtsa?2 nah3 nʌ4 ahwep^ha5 kusiwʌhpimaru?i5. — mekʌ7. 14. sitʌmk^se?1 huba?ainu2. 15. sʌmʌ?oyet^1 tʌmarʌʌmoaku3 yuhúnohkonu3. 16. marʌʌ1 nanahtenanʌmk^se?2, —tai3 makaaka4. — me5 urii4 niikwiiyu7. 17. sitʌmk^se?1 tʌk^sonʌtsi2, pʌʌ3 tʌkʌhmanip^ha4 tsawʌni?inu3. 18. sitʌmk^se?1, —nohi?2 tsaaku3 mʌnʌ4 wa?ihpʌ?anʌʌ3 tai4 tʌkʌ?ahwekʌnu7. 19. tan^se?1 tʌbitsi2 tsaaku3 ma4 rʌhkánu3. 20. pʌe-ta^ku1 tanʌ2 itʌʌmati3 pimoróo?taiboo?nʌʌ4 kuhtsu?k^hi5 tʌbehkaru?inʌʌ4, — mek^se?7 surʌʌ8 tenanʌʌ9 niwʌ-nʌʌyu10. 21. surʌmk^se?1, —ke2 tanʌ3 nah4 tsihakooiwa?i-tʌʌ5, ihka6 sokokuhpaiki7 ta8 tʌhka?ena9 sʌa?eku10. — mek^se?11 surʌʌ12. 22. surʌmk^se?1 u2 bʌetsʌ^ku3 suhka4 piayuup^ha5 pimoróo?a6 tʌbehkanu7. 23. si?anet^1 sitʌʌ2 ma3 inanu4, ma5 basahka6, nomi?anu7. 24. subet^1.

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said7, —I2 will4 just3 cook4 my4 diggings5 in ashes4.— 14. These ones1 made coffee2. 15. All of them1 made3 lots of2 fry bread3. 16. Their1 menfolk2 said to3 7 them6, —Feed4 us3.— 17. These ones1 spreading a cloth2, set out3 their3 cooked things4. 18. These ones1 (said), —Very2 good3 [that which] you4 women5 dug for7 us6 to eat7. 19. We1 really2 ate5 it4 good3. 20. Tomorrow1 we2 will kill4 one of these3 coyboys'4 cattle /one of5/,— said7 3 those men8. 21. Those ones1 (said), —We3 just4 won't2 starve5, as10 our8 food9 grows10 inside7 this6 earth /about7/,— said11 those ones12. 22. Those ones1 that2 morning3 killed7 that4 big fat5 cow6. 23. At this place1 these ones2 jerked4 it3, (and) when4 it5 dried6, (they) moved away7. 24. That is all1.

539 262 [252]

XXXVI

539 1. soobe?ʌ$_1$ nʌnʌ$_2$ tʌa$_3$ tʌhíma?eeyu$_4$. 2. okuse?$_1$ Lawton-a$_2$ kwihne?nakwʌ$_3$ nʌmʌ$_4$ paraiboo?$_5$ kahníba?i$_6$. 3. sukukuse?$_1$ nʌnʌ$_2$ u$_3$ kahnikʌku$_4$ waha$_5$ u$_6$ kahnitaikʌku$_7$ tʌhímʌ?eeyu$_8$. 4. surʌse?$_1$ nʌmʌ$_2$ paraiboo?$_3$ tʌhimʌrabeni$_4$ nʌmi$_5$ nobitʌrʌni?eeyu$_6$. 5. setʌse?$_1$ nʌʌmʌ$_2$ suhka$_3$ tabeni$_4$ ukʌhu$_5$ sʌmʌnokima?etʌ$_6$, nobitʌ?eeyu$_7$. 6. wihnu$_1$ tʌehbuharabeni$_2$ pʌetsʌkusʌ$_3$ tʌhíma?eeyu$_4$, nah$_5$ hina$_6$ oyo?kʌsʌ$_7$ ta$_8$ tʌhka?ena$_9$ tʌasʌ$_{10}$ wanakotse?a$_{11}$. 7. surʌʌse?$_1$ sʌsʌmʌ?nʌʌ$_2$ wa?ihpʌ?anʌʌ$_3$ suhka$_4$ wanakotse?a$_5$ petihtai?eeyu$_6$. 8. tʌasʌse?$_1$ surʌʌ$_2$ wo?arʌhkapʌha$_3$, —wo?abi$_4$ ma?$_5$.— me$_6$ niwʌnʌrʌ$_7$, u$_8$ betihta?eeyu$_9$. 9. nʌ$_1$ ahpʌ?se?$_2$ suhka$_3$ urʌʌ$_4$ tʌhimana$_5$ urii$_6$ hanikʌ-

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539 1. Long ago$_1$ it is said$_2$ we$_3$ go to get rations$_4$. 2. There
637 to$_1$ (the) north of$_2$ Lawton$_3$ our$_4$ agent$_5$ had a house$_6$.
3. There$_1$ we$_2$ go to get rations$_3$ to$_4$ that$_5$ house$_6$ to$_7$ two$_8$
262 /that$_9$/ rooms$_{10}$. 4. /That$_1$/ our$_2$ agent$_3$ (on) ration day$_4$
tells$_5$ us$_6$ to camp$_7$. 5. Those various$_1$ Indians$_2$ that$_3$ day$_4$
all come moving$_5$ there$_6$, (they) camp$_7$. 6. Then$_1$ early$_2$
Saturday$_3$ morning$_4$ (we) get rations$_5$, just$_6$ what$_7$ /all$_8$/ ones$_9$
eats$_{10}$ also$_{11}$ soap$_{12}$. 7. /Those$_1$/ some$_2$ women$_3$ throw away$_4$
that$_5$ soap$_6$. 8. Also$_1$ those ones$_2$ (are) saying$_3$ (of the)
rice$_4$, —It (is)$_5$ worms$_6$,— (and) throw$_7$ it$_8$ away$_9$. 9. My$_1$
father$_2$ /that$_3$/ their$_4$ rations$_5$ fixes for$_6$ them$_7$. 10. Those

Comanche Texts

ʔeeyu$_7$. 10. surʌʌse$^{ʔ}_1$ wihnu$_2$ ʻabetʌkʌtsi$_3$, pimoróoʔa$_4$ tʌkwʌsʌʔeeyu$_5$. 11. hayarokwetʌʌ$_1$ nʌʌnaahkanʌse$^{ʔ}_2$ sʌʌʌʔa$_3$ pimoróoʔa$_4$ naʔnʌbeʔku$_5$ tʌhániʔeeyu$_6$. 12. tʌasʌ-se$^{ʔ}_1$ nʌ$_2$ ahpʌʔ$_3$ suhka$_4$ uri$_5$ hanikʌʔeeyu$_6$. 13. setʌse$^{ʔ}_1$ nʌʌʌ$_2$ wihnu$_3$ sooko$_4$ narʌhkaʔruaʔetʌ$_5$, tʌasʌ$_6$ tʌhka-pʌruaʔetʌ$_7$. pʌʌ$_8$ kahnikʌhu$_9$ pitusʌ$_{10}$ nomiaʔeeyu$_{11}$. 14. sunihku$_1$ surʌʌ$_2$ usúni$_3$ hanimiaʔeeyu$_4$. 15. nʌʌ$_1$ sokohne$_2$ ta$_3$ tsatuwahka$_4$. nʌmi$_5$ bʌakʌnu$_6$. 16. subetʌ$_1$.

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ones$_1$ then$_2$ [after] eating dinner$_3$, kills cattle$_4$. 11. Four$_1$ families$_2$ butcher$_4$ one$_3$ cow$_4$, dividing (it) evenly$_5$. 12. Also$_1$ my$_2$ father$_3$ fixes$_4$ that$_4$ for$_6$ them$_5$. 13. Those various$_1$ Indians$_2$ then$_3$ get$_5$ lots of$_4$ groceries$_5$, also$_6$ (they) get meat$_7$. (then) move$_{11}$ back$_{10}$ to$_9$ their$_8$ homes$_9$. 14. In that way$_1$ those ones$_2$ always$_3$ go on doing$_4$. 15. When$_4$ 'they'$_3$ opened$_4$ our$_1$ country$_2$, (they) stopped doing for$_4$ us$_5$. 16. That is all$_1$.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

each "deserving" headman received a small herd. The Comanches soon discovered that they did not care for lamb chops or mutton stew, and there was not one who knew how to weave a rug or cared to learn. Boys chased the animals on the prairie and shot them with bow and arrow. The severe winter that followed took a heavy toll.[20] Camp dogs, wolves, and coyotes got what was left. More sheep were issued in 1878 but most of these died for lack of proper care. The wool could not be marketed satisfactorily, sheep required much care, and the Comanches disliked sheep so much that the plan to make sheepherders of them was abandoned.

MacKenzie had issued the Indians a few cattle. It would have been better had he purchased cattle with the money he spent for sheep and goats. The Comanches appreciated cattle. The transition from buffalo hunters and horse herders to cattlemen would have been relatively easy. But the obstacles were too great. The white cattlemen of the area, wanting the grass and opposed to competition, supported the government's policy of making farmers of the Indians. Cattle required considerable capital investment and the Comanches had no money. When the subsistence allowance of three dollars a month was inadequate or the supplies late in arriving, the Indians ate the stocker cattle acquired by government issue or by purchase. Nevertheless, a few Comanches did obtain herds. Tabanica, who lived four miles north, and Quanah Parker, twenty miles west of Fort Sill, were the first to have herds of their own.

Most of the agents adhered to the government policy of making farmers of the Indians. Since the country along the Washita River appears to be more suitable for agriculture than that in the vicinity of Fort Sill, the Fort Sill and Wichita agencies were consolidated in September, 1878, and placed on the south bank of the Washita at the present site of the small city of Anadarko. The Indian Office then instructed Agent P. B. Hunt to have all the Indians begin farming.

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20. Agent J. M. Haworth, Annual Report, 1878 and 1876, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1876, 272, and 1876, 82.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

[ca. 1818]

sively uncomfortable in cold or wet weather, and are at best but miserable shelters. The interior furniture consists altogether of the skins of different animals, principally Buffaloe robes, which are spread on the ground, and compose their beds, bedding and all. They use neither chairs, stools, nor tables. In the culinary art they have improved but little upon the most obvious suggestions of nature, and are exceedingly filthy and loathsome in all their household economy. They have no cooking utensils of their own construction, and prefer copper kettles on account of their being easily portable and not subject to fracture. They mostly boil their meat, but sometimes broil it on the coals or roast it on spits. During the summer months they often suffer intensely by hunger, purely from defect of art, and frugality in husbanding their means of subsistence. Whole villages are sometimes three or four days without a particle of animal or vegetables food. Their sufferings are borne in common, and if one hunter is more fortunate than the rest, his game is distributed gratuitously through the whole village. In times of scarcity the men hold it a matter of conscience and pride, to sustain the severest portion of the general privations, and to bear them without murmuring. And indeed they manifest a capacity for enduring abstinence, that would almost lead one to imagine nature had furnished their organic system with a peculiar adaptation to the various contingencies of their existence. When meat is abundant, they gorge and gormandize most voraciously, without experiencing any subsequent inconvenience; and when it is scarce, then endure hunger with singular patience, and comparatively trivial relaxation of the animal functions. Habit is capable of controlling both mind and matter. Being accustomed to pursue their game altogether on horseback, they seldom obtain any other than the Buffaloes, of which they usually have an adequate supply during the cold months, from November to March. They reserve but little from the winter's profusion to supply the scarcity of summer, having no other mode of preventing putrefaction, than by cutting the meat into very thin slices, and exposing it to the sun until it is entirely desicated by exhalation. As you may

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

[ca-1818]

imagine, these beef chips are neither very palatable nor alimental after this operation; but they are still meat, and meat is always desirable to a carniverous savage. The beneficient author of nature has given them an inexhaustible supply of salt. They procure this excellent fossil from a saline near the sources of the Rio Brazos, where it is indurated by natural evaporation, into masses of different dimensions. When pulverized, it is of a beautiful whiteness, not inferior to our best table salt. But owing to their roving habits, the Indians are frequently destitute of this healthful and savoury ingredient in animal food, and eat their meat for months together without seasoning of any kind. They do not consider this privation as a very serious matter.

They make a kind of bread of the pods of the locust tree, which grows abundantly throughout their range. These pods possess a small portion of sacchrine matter which renders the meal cohesive and gives it an agreeable though somewhat insipid taste; but in substance it is about as edible as saw-dust, which it resembles in appearance. The Peccan tree grows luxuriantly on all their water courses, and the delightful nut it affords, together with black and red hawes, prickly-pear apples, and some other spontaneous fruits, and a few excellent roots, eke out the scanty subsistence of these people, during the absence of their favorite Buffaloes.

Some of the lower or southern villages make an annual visit to the Whacoes (a small tribe located on the Brazos) and traffic horses for beans, melons, and corn. But owing to their frequent migrations, they are not able to transport a permanent stock of these articles; and very soon after returning from the corn feast of their more provident neighbours, they relapse into their habitual alternations of feast or famine.

But Providence seems to have provided them with some natural indemnities against the physical evils that might be supposed incidental to their irregular and versatile manner of life. Notwithstanding their frequent and painful privations, they are subject to few diseases, and exhibit many instances of remarkable longevity. Men, whose furrowed

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 NO6 Comanche NO6
(ca. 1870)

[ca 1870]

222 [462] Mountains. But these collections form a very small part of the food necessary to sustain life.

224 462 The animals killed in the chase are skinned, cut up, and brought to camp by the women, who follow the hunters for that purpose. The whole 262 of the carcass is utilized. The entrails are regarded as appetizing morsels. [263] They rarely use any condiment with their meat. When brought home, the [462] women kindle fires and proceed to partly roast the choice pieces for their lords. The poorest pieces of flesh they may be permitted to reserve for themselves.

411 The Comanches are expert horsemen and skillful archers. The iron-tipped arrow impelled from a Comanche's *bois d'arc* bow, is a dangerous missile. They easily send it through an inch board; and I have seen the rib of an old bullock shattered by one of those arrows.

462 Among them, the women are the most abject slaves. The men do nothing, 562 except to follow the chase, go on the war-path, or decorate themselves with feathers and paint. Even this last operation conducive to manly vanity, sometimes falls to the task of the female slaves of the lodge. The slaughtered animals on the plains are brought in by them; the skins are dressed by women, fuel is collected; the herds of ponies are watched; plumes are made, the paint bags are kept in order; the tents or lodges are erected; food is prepared; and, if after performing all these services the Comanche lady finds time heavy on her hands, she is made to minister to the pleasure of her sovereign lord by adorning his buckskin leggings with delicate splotches of paint, and graceful tufts of feather plucked from the prairie eagle; to streak his face with vermillion, yellow ochre, and charcoal, until he appears in all the glory of a full fledged dandy, and then he saunters 562 forth to exhibit his charms to the susceptible maidens of his tribe. The 593 wife, or the daughter, must, at least apparently, be delighted at the magnificent "make up" of the dandy husband or father. Theirs is not the privilege to complain.

Among the Comanches, all women occupy the position of slaves. The daughter is the slave to the father; the wife to the husband, and if there 593 are any who do not occupy the relationship of daughter or wife, they are slaves to some male relative, or to the tribe. The father sells his daughter 583 in marriage, and the husband may sell his wife for a pony, a shining piece of silver, or a handful of beads.

562 The women can form no ties, make no bargain, and exercise no choice in social or domestic relations. The father selects a husband for his daugh- 583 ter, exacts a consideration, if she proves agreeable to the chosen son-in-law, and consigns her to him, to do with her as he will. She becomes his slave, 593

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

[ca. 1786]

much blindness and harshness, as if they were slaves. 000

SECOND: What Reciprocal Trade Has One Village With Another? 175 438 439

The commerce and trade that one village has with others is that the Eastern Comanche transport the horses which they acquire in their wars and robberies to the villages of the Western Comanche, that are known by the name *Yumbarioas* [*Yamparikas*], who are the ones that sell or barter rifles, powder, shot, lances, cloth, pottery, and knives which they acquire from the *Canse, Quita, Quirate and Aguaés*; these are also intermediaries in the commerce of buffalo hides, with and without hair, which they work and dress very well.

THIRD: What Strength Has Each One? 175

With respect to the strength of each settlement it is not possible to ascertain the number of people that compose them, nor of those of the other villages because they are accustomed to subdivide according to the way they accommodate themselves to the terrain in which they exist and the bounty of the hunt of the buffalo, on which they maintain themselves. Because of the shortage of firearms, they keep their strength gathered with the caution with which they always live; they never situate themselves in a place that will be very uncomfortable, but in which they will be able to be sheltered from their enemies, always having little [scouting] parties circling to observe whether or not they are being attacked. They have the system of wandering from one place to another without maintaining themselves in a fixed locale, and in such manner they plant no crops. They maintain themselves only from the flesh of buffalo and deer, and some roots like sweet potatoes that are abundant in the territory in which they travel. 621 224 175 721 621 175 221 [241] [262]

FOURTH: What Territory Do They Ordinarily Occupy? 175

The Rancherias of the Eastern [Comanche] Indians are 131 [133]

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

After Sanapia had taken the coal and covered her hands with the ashes, her mother began the transmission of supernatural power to Sanapia's mouth. Two eagle feathers, manipulated by the mother, were drawn across Sanapia's opened mouth four times; however, in the course of the fourth movement of the feathers, one of the feathers disappeared. At this occurrence Sanapia's mother told her that the eagle feather had entered her mouth and would dwell there for the rest of her life.

As with a similar phenomenon occurring in a variety of witchcraft which will be discussed in Chapter 5, Sanapia states that she does not believe that an eagle feather actually was inserted into her mouth but rather that the idea, the essence, or the Medicine which the eagle feather symbolized, was the entity which was placed in her mouth. She does not attempt to explain the disappearance of the second feather from her mother's hand except to suggest that her mother possessed certain powers which she did not transmit to Sanapia. This first phase was ended with the mother's application of red paint to Sanapia's face, forearms, and legs, from the knees to, and including, the soles of the feet.

Two tabus, or "rules" as Sanapia calls them, were attached by the mother to the powers transmitted in this first phase of the actual transmission. Sanapia was forbidden to eat any kind of fowl. Her mother warned that if she broke that rule, the feather in her throat would kill her. The second tabu forbade Sanapia to allow people to pass behind her carrying food, especially meat, while she is eating.

> That eagle, when he eats, he don't like anybody to be behind him. When its sitting on the ground, and it see anybody behind him, it twist all around and sit toward you. If he back there eating meat, he don't want any meat behind him. If some kid carry meat on a plate, it just give me chills all at once . . . you know, if they be behind me. I don't care if I don't see it, if there's meat on that plate behind me I get chills, and I know someone back there. My mother said, "If you keep it like that and try to take care of yourself, it won't make you loose your ways about it. That's going to be the rule I give you. You got to do that. Don't let anybody go behind you when you eat, especially if they carrying meat."

It is impossible to say if certain kinds of power or specific supernatural abilities to achieve a certain exclusive end were transmitted at each of the four stages of transmission. From Sanapia's discussion it can be said that each stage marked an increase in the degree of power generally. Before the beginning of the actual power transmission Sanapia was taught the ritual procedure which she would require as a doctor. The four stages of transmission acted to instill in her ever-increasing powers to successfully actualize the goals of these doctoring procedures.

An analogy can be made with the construction of an automobile. Before it is actually energized, it is equipped with everything that it will require to efficiently operate. Then, at the source of manufacture, it is carefully observed while given several rigidly controlled and graded performance tests. Supernatural power, like an untested automobile, is potentially dangerous to the operator. This appears to

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1979) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

be the rationale for the transmission of power in stages, each stage being interrupted by a certain length of time in which the effects of the preceding stage on the recipient can be observed. Sanapia was not entirely sure how a negative reaction to a transmission of supernatural power would manifest itself. She suggested death or insanity as two possibilities.

For the several months following the first stage of transmission, Sanapia was closely observed by her mother and her maternal uncle, who at this time entered into Sanapia's training program, instructing her in the many medicinal uses of peyote. If any ill effects from the first transmission had occurred in Sanapia, her mother would have immediately terminated Sanapia's program and acted to remove the power which she had given her up to that point. Sanapia's total immersion in running water would have been a core theme of such a desacralizing ritual. Since no negative reactions appeared in Sanapia, her mother initiated the second stage of transmission.

All the power transmission ceremonies are generally similar in that they are based on the blessing ceremony of the eagle doctor, which employs cedar, eagle feathers, Medicine song, and red paint. The unique feature of the second transmission was the mother's magical insertion of an "eagle egg" into Sanapia's stomach. An increase in eagle traits indicates an increase in eagle power. To Sanapia the logical pivot of the egg insertion in this second stage of transmission is clear: "Female eagles have eggs inside them." As with the case of the eagle feather in the first transmission ceremony, Sanapia feels that it was the essence or the idea of the egg which entered her. Similarly, she cannot explain how the egg disappeared from her mother's hand prior to the egg's insertion in her stomach.

Tabus

The tabu connected with this second power increase forbids Sanapia to eat eggs. It can be seen that each stage of power increase is signaled by the neophyte eagle doctor's acquisition of symbolic elements which are to a great degree intertwined with the nature of the accompanying tabus. As the power increases, the potential dangers to the *puhakut* increase as his behavior is more tightly bound by tabus, the breaking of which would lead to personal disaster. From Sanapia's accounts, *the puhakuts*, at least of her time, possessed a way to escape the tabu burdens of their powers if they wished. As Sanapia grew older, she began to acquire a craving for eggs. In order to satisfy this hunger, without risking the dangers of breaking her "rule," she commissioned an eagle doctor to extract the egg from her, and thus dismiss the tabu against the consumption of eggs. Of course, by having this done she also lost the quantity of supernatural power which accompanies the eagle egg. It is interesting to note that though the tabu was removed, Sanapia is now physically unable to eat eggs.

> Up to today, I just can't eat eggs. When I eat it I feel like it just set there and it won't go in. I don't know why. I thought I would be able to eat eggs. When I was small my mother won't let me eat eggs because I already had one and she don't want me to eat eggs. But after she pass away and I start eating

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

eggs, but it always feel like I'm choking in here and I just quit eating them. And now I can't get the taste out of my mouth. I'll have it all day long. I just can't eat them.

Sanapia's maternal uncle gave her but one "rule." She was forbidden to eat the visceral organs of animals. This was a bitter pill for Sanapia because of her love for liver and an Indian delicacy made from stuffed intestines. She has managed to circumvent this tabu by reinterpreting it. Sanapia feels that if she changes these forbidden meats into something else, disguises them, she can eat them with no fear or guilt.

A *puhakut* cannot doctor himself in the manner which was described regarding the removal of the eagle egg. This is unfortunate for Sanapia; for as she grows older, the tabus which she must observe become increasingly cumbersome; and since she is the only living eagle doctor, she has no way in which to relieve herself of these restrictions. This is also a reason for her disinclination to associate with the less traditionally based members of the Comanche tribe. The more conservative and traditional Comanches recognizing the special limitations which are placed on Sanapia's behavior and, honoring them, make her life a little less complicated. With the less traditionally oriented, Sanapia cannot be sure that they understand the meaning of her tabus, and thus she must be constantly on guard around them lest they pass behind her while she is eating, for example, and unknowingly, or perhaps knowingly, cause her to break one of the many restrictions placed on her with regards to food and behavior. Sanapia states that ignorance is no excuse when a "rule" is broken. Her tabus are mechanical.

The unique feature in the third power transmission was Sanapia's acquisition of her Medicine song. The Medicine song is Sanapia's most direct means of communication to the supernatural realms which are the ultimate sources of her power. The song belonged to both the mother and the uncle. Sanapia considers her Medicine song extremely potent and utilizes it only under the most critical and pressing of doctoring situations. It is not a common element in her doctoring activities but is only employed when she feels that all her other tactics are failing. The song is her ultimate doctoring tool in that it is as close as she comes to actually commanding her power sources to heed her wishes.

The immediate result of her Medicine song is the summoning of the spirits of her mother and uncle. She then asks them for support in her attempts to reach more deeply into the supernaturalistic realms for more power and control over the situation which is challenging her.

When my mother gave me that song she told me, "When you come by yourself like that, when you don't have no place to go for help, when you got no one to lean on for help, sing this song. What you want, you going to get. I'll be listening to you. When you sing this song, I'm going to hear you singing and I'm going to help you."

Two tabus concerned with behavior were associated with the power increase of this third stage. Sanapia was forbidden to ever directly make a request of another. Her powers would, according to her mother, allow her to obtain anything

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

The tabus which are attached to supernatural power are a major reason that a doctor may experience difficulty in his attempt to find a successor. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:165) mention this in their discussion of Comanche supernaturalism:

> Such reluctance to assume power, or particular powers, was common among the Comanches. Powers were always accompanied by tabus; tabus were onerous restrictions on the freedom of action that a Comanche male cherished. The result was an ambivalent attitude toward the possession of Medicine.

Sanapia, being aware of this, is planning to delete certain tabus from her Medicine way in order to make the acquisition of her powers more palatable to a twentieth-century Comanche. Of course, the absence of certain tabus also indicates the absence of the concomitant degree of power. Her successor will not be burdened with the food and eating tabus which Sanapia finds so cumbersome. He will also not have to be bothered with the tabu forbidding the making of direct requests. These deletions are major concessions for Sanapia, but ones which she feels are necessary if her tradition is to continue.

Sanapia's mother modified her Medicine way before transmitting it to Sanapia for much the same reasons that Sanapia is now being compelled to consider. An element which occurred in her mother's modifications, though not in Sanapia's, was the deletion of certain powers because of their lack of contemporary function. Her mother possessed many medicines and songs which were associated with the role of midwife. She told Sanapia that the delivering of infants would be taken over by white doctors in the future and, therefore, there was no reason for Sanapia to learn the skill or to be compelled to observe the tabus associated with it. To both Sanapia and her mother the primary function of an eagle doctor is his ability to cure ghost sickness[2]. The deletions in tabus and power made by Sanapia and her mother have not infringed on this specific power.

Sanapia believes that her doctoring tradition will ultimately die as the Comanches become more acculturated. She states that *puhakuts* will cease to exist when the Comanches have no more need for them. Sanapia's sensitivity, concern with function, and general pragmatic instincts make her a very sensitive barometer of the manner in which culture change is viewed and handled by a traditionally oriented Comanche. Since her opinion of herself is bound by supernatural sanctions, and not merely by elusive value structure, her reaction to culture change is much more dramatic.

Attitudes about Sanapia

The ways in which Comanches of both northern and southern affiliation and members of neighboring tribes react to Sanapia as a personality are many and

[2] "Ghost sickness," "twisted face," and "crooked mouth" are names which the Comanches, as well as other southern Plains tribes, give to a condition of facial hemiplegia, usually with concomitantly occurring constrictions of the hands and arms, which is said to result from ghost contact.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

775 Sanapia, Sanapia's handling of the medicines before she applies them to her
755 patient, and the need of the direct application of the doctor's mouth in the
756 treatment of ghost sickness, the most tenacious sickness Sanapia encounters.

When Sanapia turns her attention to the patient's twisted hands, a contortion which occurs in most cases of ghost sickness reported by Sanapia, her behavior and "bedside manner" undergo a radical change—from intensity and outwardly appearing agitation to gentleness and calm. She puts cedar and rock medicine on the coals to produce medicine smoke and then, manipulating the patient's hand, holds it over the rising smoke. During this phase of treatment she croons and sings to the patient and assures him that her powers will enable him to recover. She will also, at times, drape a black kerchief or a towel on the patient's face as she fans the medicine smoke over his face. After the smoking of the hand, she smooths it with her Medicine feather while her crooning tone is continued.

When her treatment of any afflicted extremity is completed, Sanapia once again places cedar and rock medicine on the coals and fans the medicine smoke over the patient. She then smokes the Medicine feather and draws the smoke over herself with a washing motion of her hands. At this point the first treatment is terminated.

The patient is instructed to rest after this first treatment. Sanapia rewraps her medicines before leaving the room in which she has been doctoring. She then immediately washes her hands and rinses her mouth with a commercial brand of mouth wash in order to destroy any "poison" which she feels may be in her mouth.

Between treatments the patient is continually dosed with a decoction of
● [262] *bekwinatsu*. There are no dietary restrictions placed on him during his two-day treatment. Sanapia instructs her patient to rest, pray, and think only pleasant thoughts between treatments. During the midmorning and midafternoon when Sanapia is not involved in doctoring, she busies herself with her household chores and observes no special type of behavior connected with her doctoring. She does insist on decorum and a general quiet among household members during the several days of treatment for the sake of her patient.

When the sun reaches its zenith at midday, the second treatment is begun. This treatment will be similar to the morning treatment. By the end of the second treatment Sanapia will be able to determine if the patient is responding favorably. If the prognosis is good at this point, the subsequent treatments will all be similiar to the first one. However, if the patient is showing no sign of improvement or is worsening, Sanapia will begin to add more elements to her basic pattern of treatment. She will also be more susceptible to inspired variations since she believes that when her powers are with her to their fullest potential, any thoughts she has are of the order of a supernatural directive.

Use of the Peyote Meeting

775 If she feels that a crisis is developing with respect to her patient's condi-
755 tion, she will take her first step to augment the intensity of treatment during the
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32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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Oklahoma

By the time the settlers moved in, the antelope had disappeared from the Comanche country, as well as the deer and turkey. As early as we arrived, I never saw a turkey. Some of the small black bear held out in the Wichita mountains for a few years. But there was no possible chance for the Indian to live on large game.

Ducks, geese, plover, curlew, snipe, bobwhite, and prairie chickens were plentiful, and West Cache Creek was teeming with channel cat, blue and yellow cat, and perch; yet I never saw an Indian hunting birds or dangling a hook in the water.

Fish-eating, I was to learn later, was almost taboo. Wallace and Hoebel, doing research for their Comanche history, gained the impression that the Comanches ate fish only to keep from actually starving. They had no objection to white people's fishing in their streams. I fished for miles up and down West Cache Creek, and no one ever objected.

I have often thought if I owned a farm West Cache ran through, I would charge people just to look at the creek. To the eye of a boy, there was nothing so beautiful as the blue-green water running over the slightly reddish-tinted granite sand. There was no quicksand on West Cache. Its sand was so sharp you scarcely sank in it when you walked, nor did you rile the water. Here and there were small beaches of clean sand where the swimmer could enter and leave the water. This cool, clear water came from the Wichita Mountains. Strong, vigorous elms along the high banks furnished shade for the swimmer or fisherman. More than sixty years later, I still feel it was the most beautiful prairie stream I have ever seen.

Too young in those days to realize the cause, I couldn't help but sense the terrible separateness between my Carlisle group and the older men and women. Later I was to realize that government educators of the late nineteenth century, in carrying out their theory of educating young Indians, violated the unwritten bedrock commandment of human behavior: "Thou shalt not speak ill of any man in the presence of his offspring." You must not cut away the support from beneath his feet. You may be able to furnish him another platform, on which he may see fit to step; but he can never step onto your platform if you have first destroyed his footing.

Even the Comanche children's language became taboo at Carlisle. After drilling into the children's minds what terrible people their par-

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WHISKEY NIGHTS

439 ONLY BY A CONSIDERABLE SEARCH could anyone be found in all southwest Oklahoma Territory lower down on the social scale than the man who peddled whiskey to the Comanches. There were reasons for his low rating, even aside from the fact that the peddler was a breaker of both the United States law and the law of the territory of Oklahoma.

177 [181] [273] At the turn of the century, the Comanche warrior was only twenty-six years from his war trails. Many considered him a savage with only a superficial veneer of civilization; dangerous when sober, he was doubly feared when drinking.

[157] 273 Nor was it considered sporting to tempt him, as the average old Comanche's resistance was nil. The most cogent argument against selling the Comanche liquor was financial. A dollar spent by the average Comanche family man for liquor meant his family was denied its value in necessities.

[435] 262 435 511 The going price of a pint of cheap whiskey from the Comanche bootlegger was five dollars. This amount would supply a family of five with ample food for a week: a twenty-four-pound sack of flour, four pounds of dry salt bacon, two pounds of good coffee, eight pounds of sugar, ten pounds of good boiling beef (the Comanche seldom fried beef), seventy-five cents for dry onions and assorted

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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vegetables, and seventy-five cents for smoking tobacco and sweets for the children.

Most Indian families lived in meager comfort if the head of the household neither drank nor gambled. Of course, Indians who were compulsive gamblers lowered their families' standard of living also. The gambler's family had a feast-or-famine existence at best.

There is this to be said for gambling money—much of it stayed in the tribe, while money spent for liquor was gone forever. It is easy to understand why decent people deplored the selling of whiskey to these wards of the government.

One recurring incident of Comanche drinking, however, became an amusing interlude to people living close to our store. It occurred in the little inland town of Faxon, Oklahoma Territory, and began immediately after the opening of Comanche land for homesteading in 1901.

The old couple involved in the incident have children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren living. Let's call the father of the family Old Warrior. He was one of the better-to-do Indians in worldly goods. He had quite a few horses, a few beef cattle, a good hack, a nearly-new small lumber wagon, and good harness, and the family as a whole owned several stock saddles.

But when Old Warrior and his woman came to town for whiskey they never drove. They would ride double on a little, fat, gentle mare, the kind of mount the Indians termed a squaw horse—meaning a safe horse for anyone to ride. It was on such a mount the little folks learned to ride solo. Instead of a saddle, Mr. and Mrs. Old Warrior rode on a blanket, folded so both could sit on it.

Of course the mount was a dead giveaway, as they only used the little mare when they came for whiskey. Another giveaway was that they would arrive in town near dusk, long past the time they would start for home when driving. The first year or two, when not drinking, they would take a roundabout road home. But on whiskey nights, their errand accomplished, they rode straight for home, point to point across the prairie.

Ordinarily they were a friendly family, and once their other errands were attended to, they made our store their stopping place. They always tied their horses to our hitchrack, if there was room. But when on a whiskey trip, they left their friendliness at home and never came to our store. Nor did they enter any other place of business.

For some time there was a vacant store building just to the east

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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many of the Indians from gambling when they had money. But as long as blackjack and three-card monte were dealt by Indians, the money remained in the tribe.

The camp-out on the reservation was dear to the older Indians' hearts. It was a reminder of the wild tribal days after the late summer buffalo hunt—the feasting, visiting, storytelling, gambling, and horse racing. There was no buffalo meat; but they had learned to eat beef, and there was plenty of money to buy it. Likewise, they could indulge in other goodies they had acquired a taste for—and the whiskey peddler came with the darkness each evening.

Mostly the visitors came from faraway tribes—people who didn't have Grass Money payments. They seemed to be old fellows, warrior age. Here, there, and yonder, you would see two old fellows squatted or sitting with their backs against blackjack trees, facing each other and visiting in the sign language. You were sure they were reriding the old war trails.

There was another string to the licensed trader's fiddle. Once an Indian failed to pay his bill to an independent trader, his credit with that merchant was gone. When out of money, he had to trade with the licensed trader. These traders' prices ran a great deal higher, and most Indians wanted to keep out of their clutches.

I got over my scare once the store's money was safe in the bank, and I rode back to the reservation. My memory is that I had seen about all of the Indians owing large accounts, and I had only the odds and ends to clean up. I never saw the marshal again that afternoon. I rode in home, eighteen miles, that night, starting after dark. Perhaps I should add that most adults with sense, large merchants from Lawton and surrounding towns, and the moneylenders set up camp in the section line outside the reservation gate. There they could catch the Indians going and coming.

Some readers may read a different meaning into the word *reservation* than I have in mind in this story. I use it here in the sense of land held back, reserved from allotment and homesteading, when the area was opened for settlement in 1901. There were three of these tracts, containing two or three sections each. One was at Fort Sill, one at Anadarko, and one just southwest of Cache. There was a licensed trading store on each tract, and the land was the property of the Indians. Reservation was the name in general use for these areas. The

35: United States W-4 (no date) 1974
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COMANCHE TRIBE

Caddo, Comanche, Cotton, Grady, Kiowa, Tillman, and Washita Counties, OKLAHOMA
Tribal Headquarters: Anadarko, Oklahoma 73005

Federal Trust Area
Population: 3,300 (BIA 11/72)

LAND STATUS Total Area: 234,299.45 acres (three tribes)
Tribally Owned: 4,373.41 acres
Allotted: 229,926.04 acres
(Acreage by individual tribes is not available. Total includes all three tribes.)
Owned Jointly With the Kiowa and Apache Tribes of Oklahoma.

This land is held in trust by the United States under the act of June 24, 1946.

HISTORY AND CULTURE

The Comanche are of the Shoshonean linguistic group. In 1719, they were mentioned as living in what is now western Kansas. Legends indicate that the Comanche may have had horses before the Spanish arrived. Where they obtained them is not known. The horse changed the Comanche's mode of living into a nomadic one. They made little agricultural use of the land and lived in easily transportable tepees. Long known as the finest horsemen of the plains, they had a reputation for courage in battle when facing great odds. They were traditionally hunters. Their diet consisted of game meat, berries, edible roots, but mainly the buffalo, whose skin the Comanche used for clothing, bedding, and shelter.

For nearly 2 centuries they were at war with the Spaniards in Mexico and raided Mexican settlements as far south as Durango and Zacatecas. Generally friendly to the Americans, they were bitter enemies of the Texans who had dispossessed them of their best hunting grounds. They waged relentless war against them for almost 40 years. Around 1795, they became close confederates of the Kiowa and also allied themselves with the Apache.

Several treaties were consummated between the United States and the Comanche Tribe between 1834 and 1875. In the treaty of 1867 the Comanche, along with their allies, the Kiowa and Apache Tribes, were assigned a tract of land in Oklahoma containing 2,968,893 acres. Individuals were allotted 160 acres each.